

VOL. IV. (XXIII.)  
1875.

[THIRD SERIES.]

No. XVI. (CXXX.)  
APRIL.

# THE MONTH

AND

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### *Mr. Mill on the Utility of Religion.*

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"No one doubts," says St. Augustine, "that a seeker after the true religion either believes already that the soul is immortal which is benefited by that religion, or else wishes to find in that religion the proof of the soul's immortality. All religion, therefore, is for the soul. . . . It is for the sake of the soul, either solely or principally, that the true religion, if there is one, is established."<sup>1</sup> But Mr. Mill would try religion by another standard. "We propose to inquire," he writes, "whether the belief in religion . . . is really indispensable to the temporal welfare of mankind."<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine asks, Which religion is the most useful with respect to the soul and immortality? Mr. Mill's inquiry is, Apart from the soul and immortality, is there any need of any religion? The advocates of religion will reply that this is not a fair question to put. It is unjust to pretend to measure the utility of anything irrespectively of the purpose which it is ordained to serve. The mathematician who blamed *Paradise Lost* because there was not a word of proof in it from beginning to end, forgot that a poet writes to please rather than to convince. So has Mr. Mill, weighing religion with profane scales, been unmindful of the truth enunciated by the great African Bishop, *Animæ causa omnis religio*. Since, however, temporal things have their value, we are willing to discuss the question, how far mankind are likely to thrive on earth without religion—always under protest that religion is not meant in the first place to promote our earthly prosperity, but is for the soul and God, for immortality and heaven.

Mr. Mill propounds the matter thus—

The inquiry divides itself into two parts, corresponding to the double aspect of the subject, its social and its individual aspect. What

<sup>1</sup> *De utilitate credendi*, cap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Nature, the Utility of Religion, and Theism*. By John Stuart Mill. Second Edition, p. 74.

does religion do for society, and what for the individual? What amount of benefit to social interests, in the ordinary sense of the phrase, arises from religious belief? And what influence has it in improving and ennobling individual human nature?

He does not deny that morality is good for society, and that religion has proved a powerful means of promoting morality. But he attributes its efficacy in this respect not to its force as religion, but to the forces of authority, of early education, and of public opinion, wherewith it has been encompassed. He thinks that if authority, education, and public opinion were to combine in favour of bare secular morality, as they have done for morality founded upon religion, the effect would be just as great, or greater, in the improvement of society. Perhaps it might—if. But an issue lies about that *if*. Is the condition supposed a possible one? Will the forces specified lend themselves to the new combination? Can authority and early education, in particular, be got to support utilitarian philanthropy and decency as effectually as they have supported Christian charity and holiness? Let us consider it.

There is a religion, there is a Church, that is founded upon authority. When this Church reprobates an act as wrong, the reason that she assigns is, Because God has forbidden it, and by my voice He tells you so. These are the two foundations of the prohibition, the authority of God, supreme in commanding, and the authority of the Church, infallible in expounding. These two authorities exclude doubt. Whoever is faithful to that religion, invincibly believes that the act, so reprobated, is wrong. He believes it, to use Mr. Mill's own comparison in the matter, "as a person believes that fire will burn his hand when thrust into it." Authority cannot be wielded to such purpose on behalf of the system of morals which Mr. Mill advocates. In that system, God and the Church are both replaced by human society. The individual man is to give ear and submit to the voice and decree of mankind at large. But how is he to understand the confused sound of that voice of many waters? and furthermore, what claim has it to his obedience? A much more ridiculous fable than that of the Miller and his Ass might be written, telling the adventures of a man who for one day should endeavour to obey the human race. Whoever made the experiment for one day, would certainly not try a second. Moreover, the advice to submit to such a yoke comes with singularly bad

grace from a person who of all men was the most self-opinionated, the most peculiar in his views, the most wilful of dissenters from common opinions and ordinary tastes. The fact is, that this vaunted devotion to humanity is referred, not to the men and women who actually live, but to a visionary humanity, an idol erected in the devotee's brain. The outcome of such fervour is an enormous confidence in self and predilection for private judgment. I say then that, as for the power of enforcing morality by authority, the Catholic Church is pre-eminent above other teachers, and particularly above that phantom "parliament of man," of which poets and philosophers so vainly dream.

I claim also for the same Church a special faculty of taking hold of children, of entering within their understandings, reaching their hearts, and forming their characters. As birds are decoyed by their like, so are children won by that which is childlike. Now whether we regard Christ in prophecy, Christ on earth, or Christ in His members, who form the Church, everywhere we discern the Child. In prophecy, there is the "little one born to us," and the "son given to us;" on earth, there is the Infant, adored in the manger, the Master, Who folds children in His arms, lays His hands on them, blesses them, and says, "Of such is the kingdom of God;" and in the members of the Church, there appear the simple faith, the cheerful trust, the lovingness, the innocence, which mark alike the true child and the true Christian. The Christian on earth is supernaturally a child. He will be a man in heaven, in the fulness of the stature of Christ. The Church has an affinity for the young, which she has displayed during the whole course of her history, and which she still manifests in every spot where her ministers hold a footing. Witness both the friends and the foes of Catholic schools and teaching orders.

Mr. Mill remarks the effect of a Christian education early begun, and thinks that any sort of moral training, similarly commenced betimes, would be equally successful. So Thersites, watching the prowess of Achilles, might have flattered himself that he had only to don the hero's armour to do like deeds.

These are Mr. Mill's words—

As it cannot be imagined that the commands of God are to young children anything more than the commands of their parents, it is

reasonable to think that any system of social duty which mankind might adopt, even though divorced from religion, would have the same advantage of being inculcated from childhood (p. 81).

The verb, *to inculcate*, according to its Latin etymology, means *to stamp in with the heel*. Of course that is not the meaning which the English word actually and properly conveys. But it seems to me that this etymology of *inculcate* throws great light on Mr. Mill's use of the verb *to educate*. That was the manner in which he himself was unfortunately educated; he had certain notions stamped into him with the heel, and an iron heel it was, of his father. A child, from this point of view, is conceived to be of the nature of a carpet-bag, ready to hold whatever articles you put into it, even though, as the unscrupulous valet was discovered doing with his master's clothes, you stuff them in with your foot. This we may know as the carpet-bag theory of education. It does not occur to the advocates of this method that a child is not an inanimate vessel or bag, but a living organism, a germ that requires a definite development, and turns out a malformation and a monster, if you environ it with unnatural surroundings. It is easy enough to rear children into monsters, and therefore, to prevent such mismanagement, the Church is anxious herself to have the rearing of them. But because, under her fostering charge, a child grows up pure, obedient, upright, and truthful, to infer that the like moral virtues might be secured by secular discipline, instituted from the cradle, without religion, this way of argument, as I have said, is to ignore the child's being a living germ, and to compare it to a bag, which holds that, and nothing but that, which is first put in and fills it.

It is true that for young children the commands of God and the commands of their parents ordinarily coincide; for God would have parents obeyed in all that is not sin, and few parents are so depraved as to direct their offspring at the outset to things which are sinful. But a child soon learns to discern the authority of God extending beyond that of father and mother. The tender mind becomes impressed with the idea that God is everywhere, and sees all things, even the secrets of thought; thereby it is convinced that God commands every part of man, the inward affection as well as the outward action, whereas parents can but enforce an external obedience, in word and deed, but not in will. If this idea of the penetrating presence and intimate dominion of God was hindered from developing

itself in John Mill's youthful intellect, then he missed a common piece of mental experience, and should not have written upon a matter in which he was not versed, alleging that the commands of God are to young children nothing more than the commands of their parents. The allegation is not true, except in a restricted sense; and by no means does it substantiate the inference which Mr. Mill draws from it, that any system of social duty, even divorced from religion, is capable of being inculcated from childhood just as well as theistic morality. That is a very lame code of morals which does not control the motions of the heart, motions which are absolutely uncontrollable apart from the worship and service of the Searcher of Hearts.

Children very soon learn to ask for reasons, and of all things they are most curious to know the why and wherefore of the prohibitions imposed upon them. They readily admit the answer: So-and-so is wrong, it is a sin, Almighty God forbids it. But another answer may be given: So-and-so leads to unhappiness, mankind forbid it. Such a reply has its force. Children are credulous, they value happiness, they regard authority. They are ready to submit to some restraint, believing that it will be better for them in the long run: they are loath to disobey those on whom they depend. But a child may be worked upon by these considerations equally whether he learns to believe in God, or whether he does not. What Christian mother or nurse is there who does not use them? Infidel teachers rashly suppose that because they renounce heaven, therefore they have the earth to themselves. The development of a young Christian's moral nature is influenced both from heaven above and from earth beneath, by motives divine and human. Only it is to be noticed that earthly well-being and earthly authority, taken out of all connection with the authority of God, cannot found an obligation under pain of sin. They may establish the utility, the desirableness, the comfortableness of a certain line of procedure; but they do not evince that that is the line which a person *ought* to pursue. The hand of society may lie heavy on delinquents, the voice of society may condemn them; but surely public opinion and statute penalties, parliaments and prisons, newspaper editors and hangmen, do not make right and wrong. Yet if they do not make it, whence on earth can it be derived? Its only possible source is the throne of a Being Who merits adoration. A child then that is not taught to know God, may have an

appreciation of expediency; but an appreciation of expediency is not a sense of sin. Indications of this sense are absent from the pages of mere utilitarian moralists, and notably from those of Mr. Mill. Witness his work on Utilitarianism. How can such instructors communicate to children an idea which they have obliterated in themselves, the idea of bounden duty, of what a man ought to do under pain of sin? Sin is perhaps the object which a Christian child most deeply realizes, and most earnestly reflects upon. Amidst the convulsions of passion that impression remains. Ulcerated, it may be, by guilt, it operates as a curb to further excess, and a stimulant to repentance. It has stopped many a man in the middle of a career which would have ended with murder. The sense of sin is the element of a moral training which religion alone imparts, and which humanitarians like Mr. Mill propose to forego, and they dare to say that mankind are as well without it, and that religion lends no aid of her own to social security.

But Mr. Mill has discovered a substitute for religion in the education of the heart, or rather he has appropriated the discovery of M. Comte. The *Grand Etre*, that is, the whole human race, is to occupy the place of God, and instead of any divine religion we are to inspire our children with cosmopolitan patriotism. Our model shall be ancient Sparta. Mr. Mill observes—

It was not religion which formed the strength of the Spartan institutions; the root of the system was devotion to Sparta, to the ideal of the country or State, which transformed into ideal devotion to a greater country, the world, would be equal to that and far nobler achievements (p. 82).

I could imagine this example being used by one who owed his acquaintance with Grecian history to some dictionary or treasury, or such-like repository of tags of learning. But its use by a scholar who had read more Greek at fourteen than is included in an ordinary University course, can only be accounted for by supposing the author's zeal for argument to have got the better of his memory. As well might Mr. Mill have brought forward the Carthaginians, or the Venetian Senate, or the East India Company, or the *noblesse* in France before the Revolution, and have bidden us transform the oligarchical predilections which those close corporations manifested into philanthropy as wide as the world. The Spartans were a settlement of

Doric conquerors, keeping aloof like oil in water, in the midst of a population of subjects whom they had deprived, all of them of their civil franchises, and not a few of their personal liberty. Never was there such a narrow, jealous, oppressive aristocracy. Their pride was that they were not like the rest of men, they were Spartans; this was their bond of union, their difference from other people, Achæans, Ionians, and Barbarians. The strength of such an *esprit de corps* comes precisely from its being confined; expand it, and it is lost in the air, like a volatile salt. And thus Spartan patriotism actually did evaporate, when victory at the end of the Peloponnesian war offered the Dorian oligarchs the chance of empire.

Mr. Mill goes on to say—

Among the Greeks generally, social morality was extremely independent of religion. . . . For the enforcement of human moralities secular inducements were almost exclusively relied on. The case of Greece is, I believe, the only one in which any teaching, other than religious, has had the unspeakable advantage of forming the basis of education; and though much may be said against the quality of some part of the teaching, very little can be said against its effectiveness. The most memorable example of the power of education over conduct, is afforded . . . by this exceptional case, constituting a strong presumption that in other cases early religious teaching has owed its power over mankind rather to its being early than to its being religious (p. 83).

I wonder whether Mr. Mill would have been satisfied to have seen his countrymen behaving towards one another as Greek behaved towards Greek of old. He was very indignant on occasion of a certain transaction in Jamaica. Yet what was that to the massacres at Corcyra, or to the devastation of Melos? What was his opinion of the lying to which the Greeks were so universally given? What of the unnatural lusts which their poets sang of and their philosophers strove to justify? Are these things to be again? But it is not true that the social morality of the Greeks was independent of religion. The two decayed together. Mr. Mill, in his *Logic*, lays down the canon, that when one phenomenon varies concomitantly with another, we may surmise a relation of cause and effect between them. Now, as the author of *Homeric Studies* and *Juventus Mundi* has pointed out, the Greeks in Homer's day were better husbands and fathers, juster rulers and judges, more hospitable, more kind to their inferiors, more cheerful and more pure, at the same time that they were more



religious, than in the subsequent age of Pericles. Is not this a case for the application of the "Method of Concomitant Variations"?

Heu mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos,

is an old, unavailing cry. But this boon, which it were vain to expect from Jove, Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, can and readily will bestow, after her manner. Let the reader invoke the aid of the aforesaid powerful goddess, to ease his back of the load of past years just so much as may be requisite to render him again a child, celebrating with festive cheer at his father's board his twelfth birthday. When the feast is over, let him imagine that his father takes him by the hand, leads him into another room, and says to him solemnly—"John," or "Edward," or "James, I want you to love mankind."

"Oh, yes, papa, I will."

"That is, you will do all in your power to help them; and in order to that, you will be generous, self-denying, hardworking, truthful, temperate, and obedient to authority."

"Yes, papa, if you wish it. But I want to know who mankind are, that I should do all this for them?"

That question is a puzzler for poor dear papa. How is he to frame an answer that shall be satisfactory to his boy's mind, without any reference, explicit or implied, to the common Father of all men?

To awaken a child's interest and call forth his love, there is required some concrete, individual object. He does not appreciate abstractions and general expressions. Country perhaps is the one generality about which he warms into enthusiasm. Patriotic sentiment blooms early, like the snow-drop, in the spring of life. But patriotism is a weed in the garden of Messrs. Comte and Mill. Patriotism is an exclusive spirit, breathing division and war. We cherish and stand by our own country when we contemplate foreign powers arrayed or arrayable against her. There is no patriotism without some prospect of a fight or a competition, a struggle with the foreigner. This is evident in every patriotic song ever written, from *Τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν* down to *Rule Britannia*. If then the world is to be our country, and all mankind our countrymen and brothers, as we are told in the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, there is an end of patriotism, because there is an end to the strife of nations, which is the fuel on which patriotism feeds



I am not here recommending either patriotism or cosmopolitanism; I only wish to show that the two sentiments are radically opposed, and that a young heart may glow with love of country without therefore being susceptible of devotion to mankind in general.

Let us return to the question, "Who are mankind, that I should be virtuous for them?" In the first place, mankind are beings for whom I have a natural sympathy. If I find a wounded man moaning in a ditch, my impulse is to go and tend him. But mere sympathy will not make me virtuous. It will not be operant in the face of my passions and caprices, my pride, sensuality, and resentment. In the second place, mankind are beings for whom I have a natural respect. I stand in awe of the judgments and dread the censures of my fellows. That is, when I am calm. But neither wisdom nor calmness is the permanent property of any man; storms sweep at times over the stillest ocean. Just in that wild hour in which I most need restraint, the spell of human respect over me is broken, and then farewell to decorum and virtue. Thirdly, mankind are strong enough to seize and treat at their pleasure my person and possessions. A single arm in an open field has no chance against society. But an evil-minded individual can go secretly to work, he can procure abettors, he can rob and murder by stealth, as a thief and poisoner, or by hypocrisy, as a friend of liberty, or haply by open violence, as a conqueror. All the brute force upon earth can never make a virtuous man.

Æsthetics perhaps might be pressed into the service of humanitarianism. The most brilliant colours of poetry and oratory might be laid on to paint to a child's mind the beauty, the nobleness, dignity, and magnificence of the animal species to which he belongs. Whatever has been uttered in praise of Deity, whether by Christian, Hebrew, or Pagan—the grand words of Milton and Æschylus and Homer, of Isaias and St. Paul, might be converted, like the golden vessels at Baltassar's feast, into ornaments for the glorification of the modern Jupiter, Man. It is hard to find a use for the Bible, and for the masterpieces of poetry and art which have God for their theme, in a Positivist education, unless a sacrilege like the above is to be perpetrated upon them. One precaution, however, would have to be taken: the child must be kept aloof from the object of his worship.

When one is being taught to worship God and Jesus Christ, his instructors are not afraid to bring him near to them; he is taught to pray, to receive the sacraments, to live in the divine presence, and not only to "grope after" God, as the ancients did,<sup>3</sup> but to embrace Him and abide in Him. The more closely God is known, the better will He be loved and served: so Christian teachers think, and act accordingly, with no ill success. But man, if adorable, is adorable only at a distance. Approach the idol, and you catch sight of the paint and the ugliness; and adoration is changed to loathing. So the juvenile worshipper of humanity must be educated at home, by the knee of his philosophical father, and must not look even him too full in the face. There he must be kept, notwithstanding the importunate visits of "School Board," for school-boys decidedly do not display the makings of anything worshipful; therefore he must not go to school. But in private he must swallow down boluses from Comte and Bentham, endless sentences, with more parentheses than an onion has coats, moving him to seek the impossible happiness of a visionary humanity. This crude, indigestible mass is the staple of his education. The time at last arrives for the philanthropical prodigy to walk abroad. He will be a very uncommon young man indeed, if within six months from the time of his starting life, he does not find a thousand sources of vexation and disgust in the conduct of persons about him. The first plunge into business is wont to be a hard fall, resulting in bumps and bruises. Superiors seem exacting and snappish; equals are rough, inconsiderate, scornful, or jealous. Depths of depravity open around; the worst suspicions are realized. How shall humanity, on its own natural merits, still keep its place in the youth's esteem? If he has not been taught to recognize the seal of the Creator even on the vilest of men, if he knows nothing about the universal brotherhood founded by the Incarnation, nor the plentiful redemption merited by the Precious Blood, nor the yearning tenderness of the Saviour's Heart for sinners, a little persecution will rake out the fire of his enthusiasm, and the youth that began with adoring mankind is likely to mature into a misanthropist.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Acts xvii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Is not this the meaning of the caricature drawn by Shakespeare in "*Timon of Athens*"?

What is wanted, is devotion not to humanity but to the Man-God. Humanitarianism stands towards God Incarnate much as pantheism stands towards Him in His uncreated nature. It is the Satanic counterpart of Christianity, one of those chapels which, as King Francis the First said, the devil never fails to build for himself by the side of every church that is raised to the honour of God. Certain German philosophers in the early part of this century, reviving a theory that was in vogue among the Italian Greeks five hundred years before Christ, taught that Deity is the one only thing that exists, and that the world with all its manifold contents is Deity revealing itself in so many various forms. What the Greeks had styled the One, the Germans called the Absolute. This absolute, abstract entity, which was all things in general and nothing in particular, they presumed to honour with the name of God. Such is pantheism, a philosophical substitute for religion, which in one or other of its whimsical shapes has beguiled many a noble mind; and in English and Scotch universities the imposture is still going on. But pantheism, for all its fair promises, is an irreligious spirit. Its language is that which the serpent spoke to Eve, announcing an equality, even an identification, with Deity. Its work to-day at Oxford and Glasgow, as it was of old at Elea and Ephesus, is to "change the glory of the incorruptible God to the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and serpents." God is forgotten when creatures are confounded with Him. The apotheosis of the universe is a gigantic system of idolatry, a practical atheism.

And humanitarianism, or the devotion to mankind inculcated by Messrs. Comte and Mill, is, I venture to affirm, as inhuman a spirit as the spirit of pantheism, to which it is not a little allied, is atheistic. It is inhuman, inasmuch as it is an outrage at once upon the individual and upon the community; it begins with injustice to self, and ends in selfishness. For in the first place it goes about to destroy personal attachment. There are three forms of personal attachment: friendship, the passion of love, and religion. Religion is stronger than the passion of love, and that passion is stronger than friendship. He would be an inhuman monster who should wish to take friendship out of the world. I do not accuse Mr. Mill of such inhumanity. Still more inhuman would he be who would rob the world of love, the origin of the union between man and

wife. Plato actually proposed to do this, when he willed that in his model republic the women should be in common. Mr. Mill has not committed himself to any such inhuman and loathsome proposal. But most inhuman of all is he who forbids mankind any more to worship a personal God, especially when that God is at the same time Man, their own very Brother and Saviour. This is the most inhuman procedure of all, because religion is the strongest of all personal ties. It has compensated many a castaway for the absence or the loss of friendship; and thousands have put away earthly love to draw that divine tie closer. It pervades love and friendship, assimilating them to itself, twining its strength with theirs, binding friend to friend and husband to wife, as the soul is bound to God. This tie then Mr. Mill would loosen and entirely take away. He would make every man's and every woman's existence as miserable as he confesses his own to have been, without a God to love. Is not the attempt a breach of the privileges of the human soul, more flagrant even than Plato's prohibition of domestic affections?

It needs very little penetration to discover that the interests of mankind at large are not served by wrenching and racking the nature of each individual man. When every member is uneasy, the body of society cannot be comfortable. The rending away of personal attachment, in that highest form in which it blends with adoration, would leave a void and plant a dissatisfaction in every man's heart. We should wander about sore and maimed, and as the wounded deer forsakes and is forsaken of the herd, we should be wanting in fellowship to one another.

But Mr. Mill holds in his hand a remedy, which he boasts will heal the sore and fill the void left by the removal of theism; a remedy that will appease all individual cravings, and maintain the body politic, sound and whole. The remedy is of course the love of mankind on the mere motive of humanity. I emphatically assert, and will do my best to prove, that this remedy is wholly inadequate and vain: humanitarianism will not serve as a substitute for divine religion. The reason is simply this, that as there is a difference between general knowledge and particular knowledge, so is there likewise between general love and personal love, and as where particular knowledge is required, as in a trade or profession, general knowledge will not do instead, so a general love of mankind cannot satisfy

that craving wherewith the human heart yearns to love, worship, and attach itself by religious ties to some particular person. A working religion, such, that is, as takes hold of conduct, has ever an individual being, not a generality, for its direct object. Polytheism has been a working religion in its day. But then, what I may call a practising polytheist did not pay homage to, and expect protection from, the entire pantheon of gods: he gave himself over to the particular tutelary of his house or nation. The Homeric heroes, for instance, Diomedes, Ulysses, Hector, Ænæas, are described as fighting under the special patronage of their several guardian deities. The Athenians stood at Marathon under the ægis of Athene. The old Roman marched to battle invoking Mars Gradivus. The author of *Homeric Studies* has remarked that of all the gods who figure in the Iliad and Odyssey, hardly any are ever prayed to except Zeus, Athene, and Apollo. What I say of polytheism, holds in like manner of patriotism. Whoever heartily loves his country and his countrymen, loves them because he loves in the first place his own family and home. Being a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, he becomes an ardent patriot. The soldier or the sailor fights well, because he loves his commander, or his regiment, or his ship. Everywhere some particular attachment is required to found enthusiasm for a general cause. Give love a centre-point, and thence it will radiate: but radiation without a centre is impossible. Mr. Mill's humanitarianism is such an impossibility. He tries to draw a circle round mankind without fixing either leg of his compasses.

Christ our Lord gave it to His disciples as His special command that they should love one another as He had loved them. He was to be the bond of their mutual charity. The disciple who loved Him most tenderly was most assiduous in handing down this precept to posterity. And the Christian Church, in imitation of St. John, has ever joined together the love of Christ and the love of men as brothers in Christ. Her writers seized upon a new name to denote the fulfilment of the "new commandment," the name *agapè*, which means at once *divine charity* and *brotherly love*, things not breathed of upon earth before.<sup>5</sup> It was no abstract philanthropy, but the

<sup>5</sup> The Greeks knew of *φιλία*, *friendship*, and *ἔρως*, the passion of *love*: but of *ἀγάπη*, or *charity*, they had not amongst them even the name, till the Church taught it them. The article, originally vended by M. Comte, and eagerly bought up by Mr. Mill, is a spurious *ἀγάπη*, charity without Christ.

love of the Man-God that moved St. Vincent of Paul in his visits to the galleys, and that guided the kindly pens of St. Francis of Sales and of Fenelon. It is the same love that sustains the Sister—properly called of Charity—in her hospital duty. It carries the priest to and fro amid filth and destitution and vice, to the hovel and the back-slum, to the poor-school, the workhouse, and the gaol. It makes a man shorten his life, in daily attendance upon the outcasts of his kind, without any one, least of all himself, thinking anything of the sacrifice.

These results of Christian charity unbelievers have admired, but they have not taken notice of their source. They do not know what the personal love of Jesus Christ is, nor what it can do and has done. They think to match, and even to outdo, the work of the Church in the cause of humanity. The plan they propose to adopt is to drop all the rest of the Gospel teaching, and retain this one precept, "Love your neighbour as yourself." But as I have shown, there is no loving your neighbour in general, unless you love some being, other than yourself, in particular, and for that being's sake love mankind. When the love of God is taken away, the only other forms of personal attachment remaining are friendship and the passion of love. But those are essentially exclusive attachments: we cannot be personal friends of everybody, still less fall in love with everybody. How then are we to love our neighbours as ourselves?

Perhaps public opinion will enable us to do so. Much of the influence which divine religion has exerted over men's actions is attributed by Mr. Mill to the force of public opinion supporting religion. And he argues that when this support is removed and applied to humanitarianism, humanitarianism will be at least as great a power in the world as ever theism was. I do not deny that public opinion is a great controller of our external behaviour. A man will not wear a coat or a hat, still less will a woman wear a gown, widely different from the type which is sanctioned by the general taste. A gentleman now-a-days will not get drunk at table, as his grandfather used to do; the etiquette of society upon that point having become more stringent since the days when George the Third was King. Public opinion tells, moreover, upon our beliefs. If all the newspapers say a thing, and all our friends repeat it, it is hard if we do not believe it. Nay, public opinion can

sway our hearts to love and to hate at its bidding. So the Jews hated Christ, because the organs of public opinion, the Chief Priests and Pharisees, raised their voices to misrepresent Him. Modern Englishmen hate the Pope for the like reason. Last century the public Press spread through England the sentiment of admiration and love for the Empress Maria Theresa; and in the beginning of this century Queen Caroline was idolized by the same means. This age, in which everybody is in a fidget under the criticizing gaze of everybody else, is not the time to deny the might of public opinion.

But after all, public opinion, though when once formed, it tells forcibly upon private belief and practice, nevertheless is itself conceived of private opinion, and is fostered and matured by the sympathy of individual minds. All the loud cries that ring through the country—Reform, No Popery, Home Rule—proceed originally from some one man, or small knot of men, and find an echo in the hearts of those who take them up. Thus a poor man has a desire to better himself and the things about him, and he has a desire for more power; he hears that the government of his country is rotten, and that the way to restore it to soundness is to increase his share in it; he catches at the tidings, and joins the hue and cry of Reform. I believe it quite possible to get up a popular movement whose watchword shall be Mankind. Leaders there are offering themselves on all sides, and there is abundance of private sentiment to support the cause: for however one may be loaded with dignities and appellations of honour, there is no title in which nature exults so much as in that of man. I suppose there is no one, be he believer or infidel, who can read without his heart swelling within him those words of the oldest book extant, in which after the rest of the creation is accomplished, God is represented saying: "Let us make man to our image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and over the whole earth." I can imagine then a movement in favour of humanity, an act of the human race asserting itself.

But if the assertion is to be against God, and the movement is to carry with it a rejection of divine religion, I cannot think that it will be successful in permanently absorbing the whole of the individual man, and governing his every act in accordance with the good of society. For I say this enthusiasm for humanity is not enough to make the individual happy. He



craves after a personal attachment, and he is put off with a general cause. Naturally he will fall back upon himself and his own domestic surroundings, and the sentiment of loyalty to mankind will be no longer supreme within him. He will question even its right to supremacy, when he finds that it is a sentiment incapable of pervading and appropriating to itself his whole nature. No man can be above all things a Reformer, nor above all things a Home Ruler, because Reform and Home Rule, whatever their attractions, do not speak to the whole of a man's heart, and therefore cannot direct all his conduct. Neither does humanitarianism address itself to the whole heart. It leaves a great void there, an emptiness, and a hunger after some Person to be loyal to, to worship, and more than all else, to love. As the causes of Reform and Home Rule cannot generate in a man's breast an affection sovereign and supreme, so neither can the cause of humanity without God. But that which is incapable of supremacy, cannot be a religion, nor supply the place of religion. Mr. Mill himself avows:

The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire (p. 109).

I do not for a moment admit this definition of religion to be complete. But it is correct so far as it goes. And that is far enough to nullify the assertion which immediately follows, that—

This condition is fulfilled by the Religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions even in their best manifestations.

A sentiment that is essentially impersonal cannot be supreme. An object merely general cannot be recognized as possessing the highest excellence. A vague, multitudinous entity, such as is Mankind, a being that can be neither our friend nor our loved one, much less our God, surely is not rightfully predominant over all selfish, that is, private and individual, objects of desire. But the Christian religion can and does supply such a paramount object, in the person of Jesus Christ, the Man-God.

The latter portion of Mr. Mill's Essay, which is also the more suggestive, I must reserve for future treatment.

J. R.



## *A Vacation Ramble in Germany.*

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### PART THE FIFTH.

AND now the time has come for us to quit Vienna and pursue our wanderings. We have been persuaded to abandon our design of continuing our voyage down the Danube, so we, somewhat unwillingly, give up all idea of seeing Buda-Pest, and turn our steps northwards. The railway which carries us to Prague skirts for a time the right bank of the Danube, and we look down upon the waters which we are soon to desert—we look down with interest and a kind of affection, for we cannot forget how many pleasant hours we have spent upon them, and how much that is noble and sublime they have revealed to us ; and now all this has to be left behind, and to be exchanged for what we have been forewarned will be a long and dreary journey. We must needs confess that there is not much to gratify the eyes of the lover of nature ; there is no wildness or ruggedness to be seen ; but, on the other hand, there are none of those depressing signs of poverty and stagnation which in many places make themselves felt, even by the passing traveller. And well may it be so, for now we are quitting what is properly Austria for Bohemia, and entering and hurrying over in an express train those broad and almost boundless plains which are indeed the granaries of central Europe. We have climbed—so gradually that we have failed to notice that we are climbing at all—the high lands which form the watershed for the many streams which irrigate so profitably this vast table-land, and which unite in forming one of the chief rivers of Germany—the Moldau. We have entered Bohemia at one of the lowest passes into that mountain-girded kingdom, and find ourselves in the vast plain which, sinking down from its boundary of mountains, sinks still lower towards its centre, where stands its capital, Prague, Prag, or Praha, which you will, according to the language you use.

This vast plain, some two hundred miles both in length and breadth, shut in on all sides by mountain ranges which tower high above it and look down into its depths, is yet, as we have said, a table-land far above the level of the sea: its very monotony has at least the charm of grandeur, it is so very monotonous; but it is as rich as it is broad, and, strange to say, rich both in fertility of soil and mineral wealth. Miles upon miles of the undulating sea of corn we hurry over, and then at times we come upon vast herds of cattle. Not many towns do we pass, nor are the few we see of importance; but everywhere is the land teeming with food. Nor must we omit to record how great and productive are the hop-fields, to which the reputation of Pilsner beer bears token, a beer which stands high, we think the highest, among the many in which Germany glories.

It takes about eight hours for the express to travel from Vienna to Prague, so it is late in the evening when we arrive, too late for a distant view of the city standing upon the seven hills, a characteristic which the Hussites did not fail to turn to account in their denunciations of those who expelled them from its walls; but we had many opportunities, thanks to this same characteristic, for looking down upon what, as is not too often the case, fully repays any toil in climbing.

The river Moldau speeds on its way through the middle of the city and from the noble bridge which spans it an excellent view may be obtained of the chief and most unusual feature of the city, the Hradschin. The rapid but now shallow river seems to have cut too wide a passage for itself through and around the hills which rise up on each side, and thus the various buildings of this large city—it is twelve miles in circumference—rise tier above tier on either bank and in most picturesque grouping.

On the left bank, rising abruptly high above the lower heights stands the Hradschin, the royal palace of the Bohemian kings, now the residence of the ex-Emperor Ferdinand of Austria. Its vast dimensions give it a dignity which no ordinary palace could maintain at such a height and on the brow of so bold a promontory. Nor does it stand alone. The venerable Cathedral—the shrine of three great saints—with its one tower, once the highest in Europe, still grand in its reduction from 506 feet to 314 feet, forms a striking feature in the scene. When to this we add the grand old palaces of such magnates as the

Grand Duke of Tuscany and Prince Schwarzenberg, which are still in all their pristine splendour, and the faded grandeur of the Czernin palace, glorious even in its degradation to the uses of a barrack, we have said enough to show that the hill of the Hradschin, crowned with noble buildings which stretch in one grand line for more than three quarters of a mile in length, is a sight not to be soon forgotten. But ere we quit the bridge to examine more closely the Hradschin, let us pause a moment to consider the bridge itself, which for more reasons than one is deserving our notice.

In itself, considered only in its dimensions and noble proportions, it invites attention; stretching on its eighteen arches nearly a third of a mile in length, and with a corresponding breadth. But it has features of which few, if any, other bridges can boast. There is a strong tower at each end, grim in its solid strength and quaint in its carved devices. One of them was the scene of a memorable incident, which indeed brought about the conclusion of the terrible Thirty Years' War.

It was in the autumn of 1648 that Koenigsmark with the Swedes made a sudden dash upon Prague, and, aided by the treachery of an imperialist, surprized the Kleinseite, or city on the left bank of the Moldau. They were crossing the bridge, when a Jesuit rushed out of the College at its foot and let down the portcullis in their faces; then, with the help of three soldiers only, he held at bay the invaders until the startled citizens and university students could assemble in his support.

It was no temporary success, for the disappointed Protestant heroes, after battering in vain at the gate and regularly besieging the city for fourteen weeks, had to retire discomfited into winter quarters, and with that ended the Thirty Years' War. The gate is still there, and so is the Jesuit house and seminary which sent forth this noble patriot to do his country service at its hour of need. Would that we could add that the Order to which he belonged still holds its own. One would think there were historical associations enough connected with the spot to save it at least from the hands of the spoiler: but no—patriotism could not effect what lives of self-devotion failed to win. Those who had served the best were the first to suffer, and so the gate which witnessed the heroic deed is now at once a testimony to the zeal of a religious patriot and to the ingratitude of those who so profited by his zeal. But besides its two gates, the bridge has other special features, and chief of these are the

noble statues which adorn its piers, which indeed are peculiar, even among works of this kind; for many of them are not merely single figures, but large groups of saints. But one single figure there is which far surpasses all the rest in interest, that of St. John Nepomuc, or, as the people call it in their quaint Czechish, *Socha Sv. Jana na mostě*. St. John is all they care to call their dear patron. There may be other St. Johns, but these must have distinguishing titles; their saint is *the* St. John; but if we will have his name at length, here it is as they have it, *Sv. Jana Nepomuckého*.

This bronze statue of St. John was erected in 1683, just three centuries after his martyrdom, on the spot whence he was thrown by order of the impious King Wenceslaus.

The story of this martyrdom is well known. Its chief features are so grand in their simplicity, that those who know little, and care still less, about saints, have come to venerate what, even from their point of view, is so noble a character.

It cannot be told in fewer words or more effectively than by the inscription which was placed on his shrine in the Cathedral: "Under this stone lies the body of the most venerable and most glorious thaumaturgus, John Nepomucen, doctor, canon of this church, and confessor of the Empress, who, because he had faithfully kept the seal of confession, was cruelly tormented and thrown from the bridge of Prague into the river Moldau, by the order of Wenceslaus the Fourth, Emperor and King of Bohemia, son of Charles the Fourth. 1383."

The bronze statue on the bridge represents the martyr standing erect in his dress as a canon, holding nearly upright a crucifix, the left arm thrown tenderly and nursingly round it, while the right hand supports its foot. The face is looking upwards, while round the head, supported on a circular nimbus, are five stars in memory of those five which shone over the martyr's body as it lay in the Moldau, and by whose light it was made known to the people. The figure stands upon a broad pedestal, which is divided into three panels below, and rises in its centre to a greater height to support the statue. Two of these panels are filled with *bassi relievi*, one representing the torturing of the Saint in prison, with a view of the confessional in the background; the other represents the circumstances of the martyrdom. The centre panel contains the inscription. Around this pyramidal pedestal, and rising above it to the feet of the Saint, are other seven stars; but

these are bright lamps which illuminate the sacred spot at night. No Catholic passes by without saluting the Saint; and when the annual festival comes round, the bridge is so thronged that it becomes altogether impassable for carriages.

But we must not linger on the bridge, but hasten on and upward to the Hradschin. However on our way we must pause a moment and enter St. Nicholas', once a Jesuit church, built in the seventeenth century and in the style which has become almost identified with the Society; we admire its fine proportions and rich decorations, and pause in astonishment and admiration before a picture of surpassing beauty. It is a subject which frequent repetition has made familiar, but of which the thoughtful mind can never grow weary: the death of St. Francis Xavier. There is the calm face and the worn figure, sinking on the foreign shore under the burthen of that marvellously active life. But an artist of no ordinary genius has thrown his whole soul and power into the face, which haunts the mind long after the picture has passed away, long after all its details are forgotten, and which can be recalled at pleasure, as few works of art can be. We know not the name of the painter, but we commend the work to any one who may visit Prague, as a gem not to be missed. It is a stiff pull for our two horses to drag the heavy lumbering carriage (so different from those we were familiar with at Vienna) up the steep ascent to the Hradschin. A sharp turn or two, however, are in time surmounted by the aid of much shouting and not a little whipping, and we are on the level summit of the bold promontory. We drive first to the Palace of the Kings, so our inexorable guide rules, though we should have preferred the more inviting precincts of the Cathedral.

The Hradschin (which means in Czechish, castle) is indeed a vast building, as we had noted on the bridge, but far more remarkable for its size than for anything else. It seems to be a place of refuge for dethroned monarchs, Charles the Tenth of France lived here for many years, as did Henry of Bordeaux, the Count de Chambord, though he has since taken up his quarters not far off, at Froschdorf; and now the ex-Emperor Ferdinand of Austria makes it his residence and holds a kind of faded court within its gloomy walls.

We were therefore spared the labour of visiting many of the four hundred and forty apartments which the Hradschin is said to contain. We were, however, shown the *Huldigungssaal*,

which is a fine hall and is interesting as being the place in which the Bohemian nobles swear allegiance to their sovereign on his coronation. Another large room, called the Council Chamber, has an antique character which is chiefly due to its rude and yet imposing furniture. The large heavy table, the clumsy highbacked, broadseated arm-chairs, are all in keeping with the stern aspect of the room itself. The view from the window over the city below is very striking. Our attention, however, was directed to two small stone obelisks on the terrace immediately under the window at which we stood, which commemorate a strange incident which occurred in this chamber in 1618.

When Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, put himself at the head of the disaffected Protestants of Prague, and urged them to vindicate their privileges, he called to the city delegates from every circle in the Empire, and when their petition to the Emperor was rejected, they assembled in arms, and in great numbers forced themselves into this Council Chamber where the four royal commissioners, Sternberg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slawata, were seated. In threatening tones they demanded to know from each of them, whether he had taken any part or had consented to the imperial proclamation. Sternberg and Lobkowitz received them with composure, the two others with defiance. The former, who were less hated and more feared, were led out of the room, but upon Martinitz and Slawata what is called Bohemian law was summarily inflicted. They were thrown out of the window, and fell some eighty feet on to the terrace beneath to the spot where these obelisks now stand! Luckily for them they fell into a garden and on to a dunghill, and this broke the fall instead of the necks of the royal commissioners. To complete the garden group, the secretary, Fabricius, was thrown after them, and, it is said, knew his place so well that he apologized when coming down for his inconvenient intrusion.

A rude incident, which is very far from being without a parallel in the history of Prague, where window-ejection has frequently played a part in the rough annals. Thurn failed not to profit by the deed of violence which, in more senses than one, forced the backward into action, and may be truly said to be the first incident in the Thirty Years' War.

So from this window we looked down upon the beginning and end of that war. No great distance from the window to



the tower and gate on the bridge below, but with what misery has the interval been filled! The fiercest passions which can move the heart of man let loose to do their worst, and all under the sacred name of religion!

Perhaps it was to put a stop to historic reflections and to withdraw our minds from such grim scenes as these that we were led to another part of the Palace and shown the state ball-room. It was as much worth seeing as a ball-room by daylight can be—its size is enormous both in length and width, and its roof has not a single pillar to support it.

And now we make our escape from the gloomy pile, and walk through the courtyard to the Cathedral of St. Vitus.

A grand fragment, for it is nothing more, is this Cathedral. It consists simply of a choir and one tower, with a wide gap between of unfinished work. But then the single tower rose to a height of five hundred feet, and the choir with its two equal aisles reaches the elevation of one hundred and five feet. Those who built on such an imposing site evidently understood how gigantic each part must be, not to be dwarfed by its position when viewed from below. Of course the general effect is marred by the reduction of the tower to its present height; it could not lose nearly two hundred feet and finish as it now does in quite a different style without suffering greatly, and yet it is still grand.

Within there is much food for devotion and for the student of history. There are three shrines. First, that of the Saint under whose invocation the Cathedral is placed. And why is St. Vitus its patron? The answer must be given by an incident of the life of the Saint who brought his relics to Prague, and who lies in an adjoining shrine in this same Cathedral. When the King St. Wenceslas (or Wenzel as he is here called) attended the Diet at Worms, after his double victory over Radislas, whom he challenged to single combat rather than shed the blood of his people, and had overcome and pardoned, the Emperor Otho the First received him with great honour, and "bade him ask whatever he pleased and it should be granted him." And what was the Saint's request? It was for what he prized more than all else the powerful Emperor could give him—it was a large relic—an arm—of St. Vitus. This occurred in 938. He built a church in Prague in which the precious gift was duly honoured, and when the Cathedral was built in 1344, it seems that it was

translated to its present shrine at the back or beneath the high altar.

The incident, to which we have just alluded, affords us a fair insight into the character of St. Wenzel. The thoughtful and disinterested heroism which induced him to offer his own life rather than expose his people to the troubles of war, and the fervent and simple piety which sought at the hands of the powerful Emperor not higher rank nor wider rule, but the precious relics of saints: these are traits of character which all love, and which have inspired our best poets with their greatest thoughts. Indeed, few can have failed to remark how the ideal which great poets have framed for themselves, and upon which they have lavished their greatest care, and which they have most at heart, has found its realization in the saints of the Church. This must necessarily be, when the heroism of Christian virtues is an essential for canonization. Now St. Wenzel is one of the Christian knights of whom our own King Arthur is a type, not in poet's dreams, but in the page of history. All those beautiful and noble traits which tradition has preserved of the one, and out of which the greatest of our living poets has built up his noblest and grandest work, are to be found in the well authenticated life of the other. And if the Coming and the Passing of Arthur seemed to leave the world through which he moved much as he found it, so of St. Wenzel it might be said that his life of honour and devotion passed away in a cruel death at the hand of his brother, and evil triumphed when the good failed. But surely this is neither to read history aright, nor to grasp the true end of poetry. The legend of Arthur and the real life of St. Wenzel achieve ends beyond their own immediate purpose, and live again from age to age in the souls their examples move to holy and self-denying deeds. They live too in the hearts of their people, strengthening them in times of weakness, encouraging them in seasons of trial, and raising them, if only for a time, to higher and holier thoughts. St. Wenzel certainly has done all this, and therefore is his memory in special veneration in Bohemia.

And here, in the Cathedral at Prague, we have manifest tokens of this loving reverence, where most we should expect to find it, in this beautiful and magnificent shrine which contains his relics, and in the chapel which is a casket worthy of such a gem. This chapel is completely shut off from the south aisle, from which it is entered, by a door which is itself an historical

monument; for in it is fixed the brass ring to which the Saint clung when he was martyred by his unnatural brother Boleslaus.

The chapel is interesting in many respects, besides being the shrine of a saint. It remains at present unrestored; so we may see exactly what was done in the way of decoration under the Emperor Charles the Fourth in 1347, three years after the building of the Cathedral was began. Its walls are inlaid with the rich jewels of Bohemia, amethyst, jasper, chryso-prase, and these form a kind of border to a double series of fresco-paintings. This curious fourteenth-century work is well executed, at least as far as the lower Scriptural series is concerned. Of course they have faded much. The upper series records the life of the Saint, and was executed by an inferior hand in 1500.

The shrine itself stands in the centre; and behind it may be seen the sword, armour, and helmet of the Saint. His statue is said to have been cast from the cannon taken from the rebel John Ziska, and how beautiful it is as a work of art may be concluded from the fact that it is from the hands of Peter Vischer of Nuremberg—its date is 1532.

The third shrine of this thrice holy church, is that of St. John Nepomuc—*Náhrobec Sv. Jana Nepomuckého*, as the Bohemians call it—and is said to be "the most richly gifted in the world." It is alike striking in the boldness of its design and the richness of its material. The precious relics are inclosed in a crystal coffin, which again is contained in one of richly chased and highly embossed silver. Upon this massive shrine in a half kneeling posture is a life-sized figure of the Saint himself, also of silver, looking down devoutly upon a large crucifix which he holds in his hands, his arms being outstretched with the left hand holding the top, and his right the foot of the cross in nearly a horizontal position. The five stars rise above his head and form the points of a nimbus or glory, four large angels, also of silver, hold aloft this striking shrine and group, and are designed and executed with great boldness and freedom of action. There is variety in these figures, while yet all are kneeling and sustaining the shrine. For instance, one is on both knees with arms extended high above the head, while another on one knee sustains itself upon an outstretched leg, and bears its precious burden on almost horizontal arms. Festoons of flowers hang below the shrine and blend admirably with the spreading wings and life-like figures of the angels.

All is of silver, as are the enormous altar candlesticks and suspended lamps which ever burn around the shrine. Those who reckon by the weight of the precious material rather than by the skill of the execution, fail not to tell us that thirty-seven hundred weight of silver has been employed in the work. It may in truth be said that the idea is more remarkable for its boldness than for its beauty, but surely the greatest purist cannot deny that those who conceived and those who executed so original a design, were men of no ordinary merit.

Of course so popular a shrine is rich also in votive offerings, for those who have sought and obtained the aid of the prayers of St. John have not been slow to testify their gratitude. A single altar would ill suffice for the devotion of the priests who flock to the sacred spot, and so around its base are arranged four altars, one on each side.

This noble shrine was erected in 1736, seven years after the canonization of St. John; and his relics were translated from the grave in which they had originally been placed by his brother canons in the Cathedral three hundred and fifty years before. When the coffin was opened it was found that though the flesh had decayed, the bones were entire and perfectly joined together, and there too were the marks of his fall into the river, behind his head and on his shoulders. But the tongue—that tongue which had so boldly rebuked the impious king, and which had kept so well the secret of the confessional—was found to be fresh and free from corruption, as if the Saint had but just expired, and so it still remains (*pace* Mr. Murray) a most precious relic for those who know how to respect the sanctity of an oath, even when that respect involves the penalty of death.

On the Hradschin, but some distance from the Cathedral, is a complete copy of the sacred house of Nazareth, which is enshrined at Loreto. The exterior is a plaster cast from the original, and the interior, including the altar and image of our Lady, is also most exactly copied. It stands, not as at Loreto, in another church, but simply in the centre of a large quadrangle in a Capuchin convent.

Near the convent lived the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe. Indeed, there was a controversy between him and the monks, in which the Emperor Rudolph had to interfere; for it seems that the good Capuchins were too busy with their church bells for the peace of mind of the great observer and

calculator, as any one may easily understand who has had to do with the use of telescopes. The vibrations of the bells are too surely followed with intensified effect by the motions of the instruments; and then all accurate observations and consequent calculations are impossible. So Rudolph silenced the bells, at least at the times for astronomical observations; and perhaps other inhabitants of the lofty Hradschin besides Tycho Brahe profited by the midnight silence. However, the Capuchins might soon return to their old practices, for Tycho died in less than two years after taking up his residence at Prague. That haughty spirit had been too severely tried, and though it had been strong enough to break through the iron trammels that then bound the nobility to a life of war or idleness, and regarded scientific pursuits as degrading to noble blood, it broke in time under a forced exile, and finding rest nowhere, came here at last to die. Hither too came a kindred spirit, to take part in his great work; one as yet young and vigorous, and like Tycho of noble birth, who had been, and was still to be, tried in the keen fire of adversity.

Kepler laid here the foundation of his great reputation; for here it was that he turned the powers of his mind from speculation to calculation, and here indeed, and in this very work of preparing the celebrated *Tabule Rudolphinae*, he made those discoveries which are embodied in the first two of his three great laws of planetary motion. These astronomical tables were to contain the reduction of all Tycho's observations, as indeed they did, but with results and upon principles of which that observer little dreamed. Kepler's work involved especially the reduction of Tycho's observations on the planet Mars, and this revealed to him the great truth that all planets move in elliptical orbits, and not, as had previously been held, in circles; and from this he deduced also his second law, which deals with their motion in these orbits. Tycho Brahe died before all this came to light, indeed it was not until 1627, twenty-six years later, that the celebrated tables were published by Kepler at Ulm; but here upon the Hradschin the work began, under the patronage of the Imperial Rudolph. These are great names which still haunt the spot, and like Cicero's in Southern Italy, give interest to many localities which have no real claim to them. But somehow it seems to us that great names are often little more than great shadows, unless we can fix them in our minds by some peculiarities of person

or mind. The Emperor comes more within our grasp when we find him to be readier to enjoy the honour of a patron than to incur the needful expenses of such a great work as the *Tabulæ Rudolphinæ*: and when we see Kepler, as Delambre draws him, "ardent, restless, burning to distinguish himself by his discoveries, attempting everything, and having once obtained a glimpse, no labour was too hard for him in following or verifying it," we can well understand how the miserable want of money, and the difficulty of procuring it for the publishing of the Tables when ready, overwhelmed him with fatigue and vexation which brought on the fever of which he died. And as for Tycho Brahe, there is a personal peculiarity which sets him at once before us, if not in the most dignified, yet surely in a striking light.

The Church has her John of the golden mouth, and her Peter of the golden speech, and so has science, more literally as becomes science, her Tycho of the golden nose: a remarkable feature this, of which the astronomer was not a little proud, as the maker as well as possessor of such a golden treasure might well be. It seems that on a certain occasion he had a dispute with another Dane, and which was the better mathematician was to be determined by the sword. Tycho lost the front part of his nose in the duel, and himself repaired the damage by constructing and erecting one of gold; and so well was it moulded, and so naturally was it coloured, that Gassendi in his Life refers to an effigy which graces the book in justification of the encomium he passed upon it. There was, however, one inconvenience in this golden instrument, which was that it required frequent lubrication; for which purpose, as we are told with due gravity, he always carried with him a small box of ointment! A critic who has carefully studied the picture, takes exception to "a very great fulness and cylindricity of figure about the lower part of the nostrils," but passes the rest, as "being nothing there to excite remark." And now perhaps when we think of Tycho Brahe, we shall "nose him," as another Dane—Hamlet—advised the royal searcher for Polonius to do.

A very effective statue was erected in the Kleinseite in 1858, to Marshal Radetzky (*Pomník Radeckého na Malé strand*). The idea is original and striking. The old warrior stands erect, with right leg advanced, holding the colours grasped high up the staff in his left hand, on a broad shield which is raised aloft



by eight of his soldiers, each being a representative man. The chief himself, designed by Emanuel Max, is noble in its vigour and pose; the soldiers, by Joseph Max, are full of life and energy.

A visit to the Jews' quarter is one of the duties of a tourist, and certainly not one of the most agreeable. The ancient marks of degradation, it is true, have passed away; there are no longer gates to close in its inhabitants like wild beasts, nor are the once chosen people of God forced to live exclusively in this quarter; but this practice of making a show of them smacks much of the old tyranny, and of necessity pains every thoughtful mind; nor is this lessened by the fact which forces itself so plainly upon notice, that the inhabitants themselves expect this ambiguous compliment and profit by it as much as they can. Nevertheless there is this excuse for investigating the Jews' quarter at Prague, that it is generally allowed to be the oldest Jewish settlement in Europe. Indeed, its antiquity is said to go back beyond the destruction of Jerusalem. Be this as it may, the Jews have long retained in Prague their own institutions and still have their own magistrates, who administer their own law. Of course here, as elsewhere, the quarter is the dirtiest and most crowded, with all the accessories of old clothes and other rubbish which seem to cling to the strange race. We judged it, therefore, more prudent to drive through the narrow lanes in the highest of open carriages we could get. But the carriages in Prague are of the widest and heaviest, while the streets in this district are of the narrowest and most crowded. It necessarily followed that our advance was as slow and difficult, if not as dignified, as a royal progress; the people retreated from under our wheels into the open shops or dens, and the usual articles of their commerce, suspended high in air, dangled unpleasantly about our heads and threatened to join company with us in our way. We managed somehow to penetrate as far as the old Synagogue, which we were invited to enter; and such a gloomy, dingy, foul, and cobwebby place of worship we had not only never before seen, but never even imagined. It is a thirteenth century building, consisting of nave and single aisle, with a gallery for the women over the aisle, a sort of clerestory, with narrow roundheaded openings for them to look down upon what the darkness may reveal. The roof is simply a vault, and as for the cobwebs which hang down in thick draperies, why the

sacristan (or whatever the official may be called, who sat, spider-like, at the corner of the lane and pounced down upon us, poor flies, imprisoned in our lofty cage), why this man absolutely gloried in them, as though they had been hangings from Solomon's Temple. Six hundred years of dirt had loaded these webs with honour and dust, and woe be to the venturesome hand which would raise a broom to touch them. And perhaps the feeling was right; for to us they seemed to symbolize that love of dirt which characterized the locality, and to hang there as votive offerings, specimens of what the people most cherished.

The books of the Law are, as usual, shut up in a kind of tabernacle, railed in on the spot where an altar would stand in a Christian church. And should any of our readers chance to see, as we have elsewhere, the Jewish ceremonies attending upon the reading of the Law, he will doubtless be surprized to observe in that ancient rite a marvellously close foreshadowing of the Church's function of Benediction.

It was well for us that we lost our way one evening in an ineffectual attempt we made to find certain public gardens for our usual musical entertainment—not well, indeed, for us to lose German music in this, one of its most distinguished homes, for the Bohemians are *the* singers of an empire of singers; but well in that it was the cause of our taking a drive through the beautiful suburbs. So when we had wandered along the banks of the Moldau for some time, and found our German useless where the common people talked only *Cseshish*, we gave up the music, and drove by El Bubna through the beautiful Baumgarten. Very extensive are the drives and walks, winding for miles just outside the city, and well supplied with those hospitable groups of tables, which invite to repose and sober entertainment. For your Bohemian, like his German brother, is a sedate and sober personage, although fairly enough addicted to beer.

Now we beg the reader to remark what we have just said, for it is a speciality of the countries through which we are wandering, that beer and sobriety go hand in hand together. We have in these few weeks seen more beer consumed than perhaps we ever saw before, and we have not seen a single case of anything like an approach to intoxication. The quantity made seems almost fabulous. In Bavaria alone we are told nearly one hundred millions of gallons are produced annually, and the other German States do not seem to come much behind.

And this is almost entirely drunk on the premises, *i.e.*, in their respective States. For your German is more than patriotic, he is provincial in his taste; indeed, you are apt to disturb his equanimity if you ask for any but the local beer. Woe to the rash tourist who asks for Pilsner at Vienna, or even for Bavarian, which foreigners meet with most frequently out of Germany. The fact is, that the beer is so light that a very fair quantity may be consumed, even by the inexperienced, with complete impunity; while your German is such a well-seasoned vessel that no quantity seems to affect him. We remember the indignation of a friend, whose feelings as the father of a family were dreadfully outraged by the consumption of beer by very young children; but when he saw the mother give a good taste of the national drink to an infant in arms, it was as much as we could do to keep him from rushing in upon the happy group and dashing the glass from the baby's lips. We are sure he was much disappointed at the evident delight the young toper showed at the supply. Now this innocent drinking is generally combined with pleasant music in cheerful gardens, and while it brings out the men it does not leave the women and children at home. These quiet, cheerful, and sedate family groups form some of the pleasantest pictures of foreign travel, and give a very satisfactory insight into home life in Germany; as we may be sure the families who combine so pleasantly out of doors are closely and tenderly united within. And then again, there is another good result which can hardly be overestimated, which springs from the mixing together in these places of innocent enjoyment of such different classes of society. It is just enough to let all grades see and appreciate each other, and not enough to cause embarrassment to any. There is no need for condescension and no room for impertinence. No formal stepping down from a pedestal, and no affectation of a social equality which can never really exist as society is now constituted. But there is that union which springs from an enjoyment in common, that real fellowship which teaches mutual forbearance and mutual respect, and which cements society far more than any dreams of pseudo-philosophers can do, and which does more to establish the real rights of men than any Acts of Parliament can bring about.

But we are lingering too long over our Pilsner beer, and so must up and away to conclude our pleasant drive through the Baumgarten back to our hotel at Prague.

And now we must bid adieu to the grand old city of the seven hills. Its massive and lofty gateways, its innumerable spires and pinnacles, rising and falling with the abrupt undulations of its streets, its large and gloomy palaces, frowning down upon the humble dwellings which have found a place beside them, its enormous University buildings, its rapid river, spanned by the feudal yet richly decorated bridge, and all shut in and domineered over by the bold cliff of the Hradschin, with its diadem of military and religious gems ; all these combine to form a picture in which the history of a great and haughty people may be read—a people who have been torn by civil strife and outraged by foreign conquest, who have built rich shrines for saints and upheld wild heresy with free and blood-stained hands, who have held their own with dauntless courage in many a fierce encounter and, though united to German Austria, are still in themselves a people neither Austrian nor German. With a language of their own, which alone is spoken by all, they cling, as well they may, to their national traditions, which are preserved in their very beautiful and peculiar national music, and thus are they not a province of an Empire so much as a kingdom in union with an equal. And thanks to the fertility of their mountain-girded land and their own industry, they are no mean or dependent portion of the wide territory which glories in the title of the Imperial Kingdom.

It is this present prosperity which gives such a cheerful aspect to its ancient glory, and makes its picturesque capital so pleasant a reflection of its national history. For Prague is no dull and deserted relic of a past feudalism ; it has a nineteenth century life which harmonizes with a brilliant past, because it has naturally grown out of it. Thus there are handsome shops as well as ancient gateways, and modern manufactures which take rank with the best ; Bohemian glass is known and prized everywhere, while Bohemian garnets deserve, if they do not always obtain, an equal reputation.

And now we are once more on our way. Our destination is Dresden, and our route is evidently by the banks of the Moldau. Indeed it is the river itself which has cut a path for us through the *Ers-gebirge*, or Iron Mountains, that we owe an easy way of escape from the table-land of Bohemia ; and now the iron road follows the windings of the river, and we consequently profit thereby in ever-varying scenery. A pleasanter run than these seventy miles we could hardly wish

for, so unlike the stern, military lines the railway generally pursues. The Moldau is our guide, and through a glorious combination of mountain and river scenery it leads us; for the mountains of basalt raise their crests in parts of the iron range to nearly four thousand feet, while their wild, storm-torn peaks seem to elevate them into still grander dimensions. At Melnik, the "town of hops," the Elbe joins the Moldau, and still further on, at Leitmeritz, the Eger adds its waters to the united rivers, and then the three flow on, as the Elbe, until they pour their waters into the German Ocean.

H. B.

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*Lines from a Homily of St. Bernard.*

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REJOICE, O Adam! Father of our sorrow!  
Behold the dawn of gladness once again:  
Rejoice, O Mother Eve! rejoice thou rather,  
Who first hast stained our world with sin and pain.

For thy sad sake, the sword of sorrow pierces  
The hearts of all thy daughters here below;  
For thy sad sake they reap the double portion  
Of earthly shame, of suffering and woe.

O woman! see, the happy hour is dawning,  
Which turns to praise thy shame, to joy thy grief:  
O man! cast forth thy bitter taunts no longer—  
Cease to reproach, thy triumph shall be brief.

Thrice cruel words! "The woman whom Thou gavest,  
She gave the fruit to me, and I did eat."  
Through woman hast thou fallen? Aye, remember,  
A woman only lifts thee to thy feet!

Therefore, O mournful Eve, fly thou to Mary;  
Fly Mother to thy Daughter full of grace;  
Who satisfies the Father for the Mother,  
And wipes away the stain of thy disgrace.

Our God, in the sweet treasures of His goodness,  
Hath sought and found how aid shall be supplied;  
For Mary's wisdom shall blot out thy folly,  
And her humility efface thy pride.

For one who gave the fruit of death and sorrow,  
Another gives the fruit of endless days ;  
Change then, O man ! thy false unkind excuses  
Into a burst of gratitude and praise.

“O Lord ! the woman who to me is given,  
She gave the Fruit of Life, and I did eat ;  
And by this Food my spirit hath been quickened :  
O taste beyond compare ! O Food most sweet !”

For this, God's Angel comes to thee, O Mary,  
Virgin most admirable, greatest, best ;  
Winning His pardon for thy fallen parents,  
And for thy children, life, and peace, and rest.

C. P.



## *St. Gregory the Seventh.*

### PART THE THIRD.

IN our former papers we brought the sketch of Gregory the Seventh's struggle with King Henry the Fourth of Germany down to January, 1076, when the Papal Legates summoned Henry to Rome. Gregory's patience, in spite of repeated and violent provocations, had so far not deserted him: he had borne himself as became the dignity and sweetness of Him Whose Vicar he was. But Henry was in no mood for conciliation. His victory over the Saxons had put them under his feet; and though his cruel rule could not allow him to suppose them pacified, his momentary power at least held them in subjection. His pride was stung to the quick by the Papal summons. He called his "faithful" bishops and abbots to meet him on Septuagesima Sunday at Worms, in order to take counsel with him what was to be done. "And now it was evident to the world what spirit animated the men to whom the destiny of the German Church had in the few last years been confided. Here they sat, the nurslings of the Goslar Court, the creatures of royal favour, of avarice and caprice. Otho of Constance, . . . Rupert of Bramberg, Hozmann of Spire, William of Verona (who was also of the school of Goslar), the ferocious and passionate William of Utrecht, the avaricious and infamous Siegfred of Mentz, Otho of Ratisbon, and Burchard of Lausanne (both of whom were no more than rude soldiers, and had been excommunicated by the Pope, and the latter of whom lived in a state of public marriage), Verner of Strasburg, who had been twice accused at Rome of serious offences, all ready to obey servilely the wishes of the King, and eager to take revenge on the Pope, whose inflexible justice they had experienced, or to disarm him for the future."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 299 (Cox's Translation). Janus has in later times presented his second face. However, it is perhaps lawful to appeal "from Philip drunk to Philip sober."

In January, then, Henry met his "trusty" bishops. At the same time came Hugo Blancus (Candidus), who had been deprived by Gregory of his dignity of Cardinal for having forged Papal briefs and favoured simony. Hugo filled the assembly with complaints, and accused Gregory of the vilest and most incredible crimes. We need not delay upon them, as their character and that of their author are admitted by all. Henry and his friends were overjoyed at this seasonable help, "as though it had been sent down from heaven. They drew up a sentence that a man who had defiled his life by such crimes could not be Pope, or possess or ever have possessed the power of binding and loosing. . . They drew up a letter full of insult to Gregory, who was called upon to resign the See, which he had usurped contrary to the ecclesiastical laws, and informed him that whatever from that day he did, ordered, or determined, was considered null and void."<sup>2</sup> But few of the bishops present were willing of their own accord to sign this infamous document, but threats of deposition and violence at length prevailed over the weak voice of conscience.

This meeting was no sooner closed than Henry sent the Bishops of Speier and Basle into Lombardy, to gain over the prelates of that country to a similar course. In this no difficulty was found. The bishops of northern Italy were deeply involved in simony, and openly favourable to clerical concubinage, and their hostility to Gregory's decrees was proportionately vehement. Their hatred towards the saintly Pontiff made them fit tools for Henry's purposes. They assembled at Piacenza (or Pavia). "In order to show the measure of their malice, they swore on the Holy Gospels that they would not thenceforth hold Gregory to be Pope or render him obedience; and sending messengers, they persuaded others to do the same."<sup>3</sup>

Henry thus deliberately set himself on the road of schism. His conduct was manifestly, as Bossuet himself admits, indefensible. Gregory had not departed one hair's breadth from his rights; he had not trespassed in the slightest degree upon the civil power; and, moreover, in the warnings he gave to Henry, and in the acts which his duty forced him to perform, he observed, as we have seen, a constant and unalterable forbearance towards the wrong-headed King. With the latter's incitements to the Lombard bishops he was quickly made acquainted by the only just man among them. Dominicus, Patriarch of

<sup>2</sup> Lambert, *Ann.* 1076.

<sup>3</sup> Bernried, Migne, vol. cxlviii. p. 69.

Grado, wrote to the Pope on the subject. "As you show," answers Gregory, "by your letters that you love your mother, the Holy Roman Church, and venerate it with a pure heart, we thank your Fraternity. . . . You say that you are amazed and greatly grieved at the mad hatred with which the Lombard and some of the German bishops are inflamed against us. No consciousness of fault on our side reproaches us in that matter. We are aware that they are straining all their strength in this affair from no other cause than that we, in obedience to the law of God and that of our holy predecessors, stand in the way of their perverse conduct, and try, in virtue of the obligation laid upon us by Divine Providence, to bring them back, if possible, into the straight path of justice."

It is impossible not to admire the single-minded Pontiff, as he shows himself in the following letter to Wilfrid, a Milanese knight: "We have written . . . that we desire peace with the King of Germany, if he will endeavour to have peace with God, and correct, according to our repeated warnings, that conduct of his which endangers Holy Church and heaps up the measure of his own ruin. But, as we have placed our faith, trust, and all our thoughts in the power of the Divine might rather than in man, we wish that you also . . . should firmly trust in God."

Henry, meanwhile, was tampering with the Roman people. He scattered money amongst them, and by his agents strove to win them over to help him in deposing Gregory. He informed them that he had written to the Pope in this wise: "Henry, by the grace of God King, to Hildebrand. While I have, up to this, expected of thee the treatment of a father, and have obeyed thee in all things to the great indignation of all my faithful subjects, I have met with nothing but what might be looked for from the most deadly enemy of my life and kingdom. For in the first place, thou hast proudly deprived me of the hereditary right due to me from that See, and by the vilest schemes hast attempted to draw Italy from me. Thou hast laid thy hands on the bishops, who are united to me as most dear members, and harassed them, as themselves aver, by haughty injuries and cruel indignities. I have held a meeting at the desire of my nobles, to pass judgment on thy unheard-of obstinacy. I consequently deny thee all rights to the Papacy, and bid thee descend from the throne."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Bruno de bello Sax.* Migne, vol. cxlvii. p. 529.

This letter is sufficiently insolent ; but what shall we say of the next ? " Henry, King, not by usurpation, but by the pious providence of God, to Hildebrand, now not the Apostolical, but a false monk. Thou hast deserved this address for thy humiliation, as thou hast not let slip one single order in the Church, which thou hast not made to taste of humiliation, not of honour, of curses instead of blessings. Thou hast not hesitated to trample under foot the chiefs of the Church, by which act thou hast won favour from the mouths of the common herd, whom thou consideredst to know nothing, but thyself to know everything. . . . Thou hast not feared to rise up against the royal power itself, given to us by God ; and this thou hast dared to threaten to spoil us of, as though we received our sway from thee, as though rule and empire were in thy hands, and not in the hands of God, Who has called us to rule, though He has not called thee to the priesthood. . . . Me, too, who have been, though unworthy, anointed King, thou hast touched, though the tradition of the fathers has taught that I can be judged by God alone (!) and has declared that *I cannot be deposed for any crime but that of defection from the faith*, which God avert. . . . Let another mount the Chair of blessed Peter. . . . I, Henry, King by God's grace, along with all our bishops, say : Come down, come down."<sup>5</sup>

This letter, along with the Worms' decree, was, with the utmost effrontery, presented personally to the Pope, whilst he was holding the Lent Synod of 1076 ; nay, the envoy not only presented, but actually read aloud the abusive letters of which extracts have been just given. John, Bishop of Porto, indignantly exclaimed : " Seize him ! " whereupon the laymen present rushed upon him, and, had not Gregory shielded the offender by his own person, would have despatched him on the spot.<sup>6</sup> This act of Gregory shows us the heroic temper of his soul. His determination in the cause of justice did not betray him into any indiscretion in the mode of seeking it ; for, had he on the spot excommunicated Henry and his schismatical adherents, who could have blamed him ? But in order that passion might have no share in his action at this crisis, he broke up the synod till the following day. It was then determined with one accord that Henry, who had set at nought the canons of the Church whose life was a standing scandal to his own subjects, who had

<sup>5</sup> Bruno, *ibid.* pp. 530, 531.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Bernried, Migne, vol. cxlviii. p. 71.

created a schism in the Church and had attempted to depose the Pope, and undertaken to set up another on his own authority, should be cut off from the communion of the faithful.<sup>7</sup> This Gregory proceeded to do in a solemn invocation: "Holy Peter, Prince of the Apostles, bend, we pray, thy ear to us and hear me, thy servant, whom thou hast nurtured from my infancy, and up to this day saved from the hands of the ungodly, who for my allegiance to thee have hated and now hate me. Thou, as well as my Queen, the Mother of God, and blessed Paul, thy brother, are my witnesses that the Holy Roman Church dragged me against my will to its helm, and that I ascended not by violence thy throne; nay, I should have preferred to end my life in pilgrimage, rather than by natural schemes to grasp at thy place for the sake of worldly glory. Hence it is, I believe, by thy favour and not by my action that it has pleased thee and still pleases thee that the Christian people, which is specially committed to thee, should specially obey me, as holding thy place; and to me on thy account is given by God the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth. Relying on this, in defence of the honour of thy Church, on the part of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by thy power and authority, I forbid King Henry, the son of the Emperor Henry, who has risen with unheard-of pride against thy Church, the rule of the whole kingdom of the Germans and of Italy, and I release all Christians from the bond of the oath, which they have taken or shall take to him, and I forbid anyone to do service to him as to a king. For it is fitting that he, who strives to lessen the honour of thy Church, should lose the honour he seems to possess. And as he has disdained to obey like a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord Whom he abandoned, by having dealings with the excommunicate and by committing many wickednesses, and scorning the warnings which, thou art witness, I sent him for his good, and by separating himself from thy Church, which he strove to rend in pieces, I, in thy place, bind him by the tie of anathema, and I bind him confiding in thee, so that all nations may know and feel that thou art Peter, and upon thy rock the Son of the living God has built His Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."<sup>8</sup>

This was the first time that any Pope pronounced such a

<sup>7</sup> "Accepta fiducia Dominus Papa ex totius Synodi consensu et iudicio protulit anathema in hunc modum" (*Ibid.* p. 74).

<sup>8</sup> Bernried, *ibid.* pp. 74, 75.

sentence upon a *de facto* and *de jure* ruler. We shall consider the matter historically only, and inquire briefly into the import of the sentence and the justifying ground of it.

This sentence was a suspension of Henry's right to *exercise* his royal power: in no sense was it a *definitive deposition* from or privation of his throne. This is abundantly clear from Gregory's subsequent conduct and from his letters. He never ceased to strive to bring Henry to reconcile himself with the Church, and thus recover his royal position, so far as this last was affected by the ecclesiastical censure. The suspension resulted naturally, and by a necessary consequence, from the then existing form of excommunication, by virtue of which all intercourse on the part of the faithful with the excommunicated person was forbidden. Clearly, then, the exercise of power became impossible, and this incapacity lasted so long as the sentence continued in force. Excommunication, like the rest of the ecclesiastical censures, has for its chief end that of the correction of the delinquent; hence it is commonly called a *pœna medicinalis*, as distinguished from *pœna vindicativa*, such as a definitive deposition would be when inflicted primarily as a punishment for past crime. Its very nature, therefore, implies the possibility of restoration and release, when satisfaction has been made. A censure is essentially temporary, because medicinal; deposition or degradation is perpetual, because *in vindictam*.<sup>9</sup> Deposition from the throne was the consequence of obstinate perseverance under the Church's censure. This was clearly understood by both sides. Henry, indeed, in his insolent letter to the Pope, asserts that heresy alone is a deposing cause. But this is manifestly special pleading. Such a restriction was not only not recognized, but virtually denied even by Henry's partisans. Hence they laid great stress on the *iniquity* of the sentence, while they did not impugn its *validity*, in case its justice was established. That this was the state of the question is put beyond all doubt by Gregory's letter, of the summer of 1076, to the German prelates and princes: "We have heard that some of you doubt whether the excommunication of Henry be *just*, and whether our sentence was attended by the *proper deliberation*." He then recites the history of Henry's crimes, and of the Holy See's warnings, not to show that the former were

<sup>9</sup> These terms apply chiefly to ecclesiastical offenders; but it is clear that, when the status of a layman was in question, both the terms and mode of procedure were transferred without change to his case.



matter sufficient for the *validity* of the excommunication, but "to satisfy those who think that we took up the spiritual sword *rashly* and *in anger*, rather than under the influence of the fear of God and of zeal for justice."<sup>10</sup> There was no question, then, about the *consequence* of excommunication, provided that censure was justly inflicted. This appears, if possible, more clearly still from Gregory's letter to Hermann, Bishop of Metz. The latter had asked for instructions on certain questions raised by Henry's friends. One point was that royalty was exempted from excommunication—*Regem non oportet excommunicari*. To this Gregory answers partly by historical precedents, such as those of St. Ambrose and Theodosius the Great, partly theologically. This second answer is striking. "The objectors suppose, perhaps, that, when God thrice intrusted his Church to blessed Peter, saying, 'Feed My sheep,' He excepted kings. Why do they not consider that, when God gave to blessed Peter the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, He excepted no one, He withheld nothing from the range of his power? For he who holds that he cannot be bound by the Church's bond, has no alternative but to deny that he can be loosened by her power. And he who denies this, separates himself from Christ."<sup>11</sup>

The time fixed by law for execution of this deposition was a year and a day after excommunication. This arose from that union between the Church and the State which was the foundation of Christian polity in the middle ages. The fundamental idea of this connexion was that no one could continue a member of the State who had been cut off from communion with the Church; and this principle applied to the highest member of the State as well as to the most humble. In truth, we shall express the spirit of the middle ages on this point more accurately, if we say that Christendom was the Church and the Church was Christendom. Church and State, as conceived now-a-days, is a pure figment of the mind, if applied to those days. Then, both dwelt under the same roof, and formed one family; so that any member who separated himself from the Church, cut himself off by that very act from the State. This intimate grafting of the State upon the Church is an essential feature in mediæval life. The co-ordination of the two powers, and the subordination of the material to the spiritual sword, the

<sup>10</sup> Migne, *Extra Regist.* ii. n. 26, p. 671.

<sup>11</sup> *Regist.* iv. 2, p. 454. See also viii. 21, on the same subject at much greater length.

latter wielded by the Pope and the former for him and at his bidding, were in perfect harmony with this state of things. The Church had thus practically (not only theoretically) the two swords, which it could wield at its reasonable pleasure, and the famous words of St. Bernard (afterwards quoted by Boniface the Eighth in the *Unam Sanctam*) hereby receive their full explanation. From these remarks, then, it is evident that the only course left open to Henry, if he wished to forestall the action of the civil law, was obviously to make satisfaction to the ecclesiastical law, and thus obtain readmission into the bosom of the Church, before the February of 1077 came round.

For the present, however, Henry had no intention of submitting. His mind was bent on revenge by the overthrow of the Pontiff who had excommunicated him. His only path was that of schism. He no sooner heard of the Papal sentence than he summoned his Court prelates to meet him at Worms by Whitsuntide, in order to elect a new Pope. But affairs took a different turn from what Henry expected. Contemporary annalists inform us that at first a mistaken national feeling manifested itself in abuse and condemnation of Gregory; but that, when the fear of Henry's vengeance was lessened by the visible collapse of his power to punish, the general feeling recognized the justice of the sentence. This feeling was greatly increased by the sudden and unprovided deaths of several of the King's chief advisers, men who had encouraged him in his evil life, cruel government, and schismatical plans. These marks of the Divine vengeance struck terror into the wavering and made the Pope's cause triumphant.<sup>12</sup>

Henry had now a further and more substantial cause for anxiety. His Pope-making inclinations had to be postponed for the present, to the danger gathering about him by reason of his arbitrary government and his revengeful conduct to the Saxons. At the head of the discontented party stood Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, together with other nobles and bishops. The rats began to give signs that the ship was doomed. Many of Henry's bishops and nobles abandoned him, and made peace

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Lambert, Bruno, Bernried, &c. Most of these examples were Henry's bishops. Thus Henry's most confidential adviser, William, Bishop of Utrecht, after desecrating the solemnities of Easter Sunday by a speech from the altar full of foul abuse and calumny against the Pope, was suddenly taken ill and died in despair. Before his death he said: "Go and tell the King to correct what he has done against God, blessed Peter, and his Vicar, lest he should follow me to hell-fire" (Bernried, Migne, vol. cxlviii. pp. 148, 149).

with Gregory, or joined the opposite party of Rudolf. The chief Saxon nobles too, whom he had treacherously imprisoned after his victory of the preceding year, were set at liberty by their keepers and helped to swell the party of disaffection, which was rapidly growing to a head. Gregory on his side, instead of using the disaffected state of Germany to further any ambitious ends, availed himself of every opportunity to exhort the King to reconcile himself with the Church. The Pope knew well that the German princes and bishops would only be too ready to take advantage of the King's excommunication to rid themselves of him once for all. In truth, they were more convinced of the faithless and worthless character of Henry, than the Pope's hopeful charity allowed him to be. If Henry escaped deposition this time, the satisfaction, by which he escaped, would be insincere, and only binding so long as fear kept him to his duty. Even as late as September of this year (1076), after Henry had continued obstinate since Easter, after two abortive attempts (aimed directly at Gregory's person and office) at setting up an Antipope, the Roman Pontiff solemnly adjured the German bishops and nobles to receive Henry on his return to God with all sincerity and love; to allow charity, which covers a multitude of sins, to take the place of justice, to remember Henry's father and mother, whose like could not be found in high places. At the same time, ever mindful that good intentions without corresponding acts are worthless, Gregory insists that the occasions of the King's previous lapses should be removed. "Let his wicked advisers be dismissed; men who, after being themselves excommunicated for simony, have not blushed to defile him with their leprosy, and to lead him into an attempt to rend Holy Church." He must no longer look upon the Church as a thrall enslaved to him, but as his mistress and superior.<sup>13</sup>

The German princes, however, were in no humour to follow the patient counsels of Gregory. Henry had by his tyranny and oppression, raised a storm which could only be allayed by throwing a King overboard; and the Pope's endeavours effected only a very partial abatement of the tempest. In October of 1076, a Council was summoned to meet at Tribur, near Mainz, to which came all the leading enemies of the King. Their minds were fully made up to remove King Henry from the helm of the State, and elect a successor.<sup>14</sup> Two Papal Legates were present, Sigehard, Patriarch of Aquileia, and

<sup>13</sup> *Regist.* iv. 3.<sup>14</sup> Lambert, in *Ann.*

Altmann, Bishop of Passau. All Henry's crimes against the State and against individuals, were first recounted; the impoverished and ruinous condition of the kingdom, which at his accession was most flourishing, was attributed to his bad government, and no other conclusion seemed possible but that Henry must be superseded. The whole of this procedure shows clearly that the sentence of deposition already passed was not looked upon as final. The behaviour of Henry also, who was at Oppenheim, on the opposite side of the Rhine, imports the same conviction on his side. This point should be borne in mind, if we would justly appreciate succeeding transactions. Henry, whose power was at this moment at a low ebb, offered to resign the kingdom, provided he was allowed to keep the title and style of a king. The princes would not hear of any arrangement with Henry. He would break the most solemn engagements, as though they were cobwebs, the moment he escaped from the present difficulty. However, by the persistent exertions of the Papal Legates, an arrangement was proposed. According to this, the Pope was appointed judge between the parties, who were to meet Gregory on the following February 2nd, 1077, at Augsburg, and stand by his decision.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, if Henry were not (especially through faults of his own), freed from his excommunication by the anniversary of its infliction, he should be held to have failed in his cause, and to have forfeited definitively all rights to the throne, *which he could not possess after being under excommunication for a year*. They would be able to judge the King's sincerity in promising submission to the future Papal decision by a test, which they required Henry to undergo as a condition to an arrangement,

<sup>15</sup> Our readers will be interested to see the words of Pius IX. on this subject, spoken July 20th, 1871, on the occasion of the attempts made to bring hatred on the dogma of Infallibility, by representing it as the power by which Popes deposed kings. "Tra gli altri errori, più di tutti essere malizioso quello che vorrebbe inchiodarvi il diritto di disporre i sovrani e liberare i popoli dall' obbligo di fedeltà. Questo diritto essersi talvolta, in supreme circostanze, esercitato dai Pontefici; ma nulla aver esso che fare coll' infallibilità pontificia. La di lui fonte però non essere stata la infallibilità, ma sì l' autorità pontificia. Questa, secondo il diritto pubblico allora vigente, e per l'accordo delle nazione cristiane, che nel Papa riverivano il supremo giudice della cristianità, stendesi a giudicare anche civilmente dei Principi e dei singoli stati. Affatto diverse da quelle essere le presenti condizioni; e soltanto la malizia poter confondere cose e tempi così diversi; quasi che l' infallibile giudizio intorno ad un principio di rivelazione abbia alcuna affinità con un diritto che i Papi, chiamati dal voto dei popoli, dovettero esercitare quando il commun bene lo domandava" (*Civiltà Cattolica*, vol. iii. 1871. See also an article on this Address in the same volume).

viz., he was to dismiss all his excommunicated counsellors; he was to retire to Speier, after disbanding his army, and live there as a private man without meddling in State affairs of his own right until the trial. If he broke any of these test conditions, they would consider themselves free from all fault and from all obligations of allegiance, and, without waiting for the decision of the Roman Pontiff, they would proceed to make regulations for the government of the kingdom.<sup>16</sup> All these conditions were accepted by Henry, who saw that his only chance of ultimately regaining power lay in a temporary submission to his enemies.

Henry's immediate object now was his release from excommunication. It was already November, his trial was to take place on February 2nd, and the anniversary of his excommunication and consequent suspension was February 23rd. "He knew," says Lambert, "that his safety depended entirely on his absolution before the year came round, and, not thinking it sufficiently safe to await Gregory's arrival in Germany, when he would have to plead his cause before an offended judge and exasperated accusers, he considered his best course would be to go and meet the Pope in Italy before he crossed the Alps, and try to obtain by any means in his power the absolution from anathema." Gregory meantime had reached Lombardy. He was from that point to have had an escort across the Alps; but after in vain waiting for its arrival twenty days, he received news that Henry, in violation of the agreement made at Tribur, had left Speier and was making for Italy. This unexpected conduct threw Gregory into great difficulty. He could not guess the meaning of such a course, as he was well aware that it was in direct violation of a solemn promise made to the German princes. Accordingly, in order to be prepared for all eventualities, he betook himself to the strong castle of Canossa. This castle, which belonged to the Margravine Matilda, lay on the boundary line between Parma and Modena. It was enormously strong, the citadel being the centre of three concentric walls, each inner wall rising somewhat above the outer. The intervening spaces were, as was usual in such structures, of considerable extent, and served for the abodes of the numerous immediate retainers of the lord (or, in this case, the mistress) of the castle. To Canossa, then, came Henry, attended only by his wife, who had clung to him in

<sup>16</sup> Lambert, Migne, vol. cxlvi. pp. 1231—1232.

spite of his unfaithfulness to her, and his young son, Conrad. He interested his aunt, Matilda, in his favour, and won over among others, Hugh, Abbot of Clugny, to plead his cause with Gregory. His prayer, as might be supposed, centred in a release from excommunication. Gregory, his natural and constituted judge, could not but answer that it was not in accordance with the laws of the Church to judge a man's case in the absence of his accusers, and that, if Henry were conscious of no crime, he ought fearlessly to meet his opponents at Augsburg, as he would have in the Pope a judge who would judge justly without respect for any man. Henry knew that this was the truth: he had already many times experienced the patience and uprightness of Gregory's character. Such advice, however, did not answer his purposes. His only hope of escape lay in overreaching the Pope by a show of penitence, and, by thus working on his compassion, bring him in opposition with the German princes. His answer therefore to Gregory, was natural, viz., that he had no apprehensions of injustice from the Pope, but that he was fearful lest some unforeseen accident might prevent the meeting of Augsburg before the respite granted him should expire. In that case he would be, *juxta palatinas leges*, deposed and cut off from any chance of having his case heard. He petitioned therefore to be absolved from excommunication, undertaking to stand his trial on any day and at any place the Pope should appoint, and to accept any decision there come to, whether of degradation from or restoration to his kingdom. Gregory long resisted the importunity of Henry's friends. At length, wearied out by their entreaties, he promised to remove the excommunication, if Henry, when admitted to his presence, showed real signs of sorrow. Upon this, the King was, now for the first time, admitted within the inner walls of the castle, and there for three days did penance in the canonical fashion. After this satisfaction, he was readmitted to communion on the conditions proposed by himself.<sup>17</sup>

Much sentiment has been written on this famous Canossa scene. Hallam, Milman, and other Protestant writers, consider Henry's penance as a base humiliation. We suppose, however, that humiliation is a relative term. First, such a penance was not reckoned humiliating in those times, but, on the contrary, noble and praiseworthy. Secondly, it may be doubted whether it was humiliating or lowering in the case of a man such as

<sup>17</sup> For the whole of the Canossa incident see Lambert, pp. 1239—1242.



Henry. Could an act of justice and truth lower a man or a King, who had studiously dragged his royal dignity through the mire of tyranny and cruelty and utter faithlessness, who had debased his manhood by his lusts and beastly passions, who had kept faith with neither God nor man?

Next, as to the penance itself. First, it was self-imposed. Secondly, there was little of the romance about it imagined by most writers. It is not to be supposed that Henry literally stood barefoot with nothing but the penitent's shirt on for three days and nights continuously, and that without food or drink. This would be an extravagant absurdity. Of course, he suffered somewhat, otherwise there would have been no penance. And doubtless he accidentally suffered more than usual by reason of the cold. The cold, however, was none of Gregory's making. But if Henry wore sandals, he would be said to be barefoot. He had a house over his head at night, and food and drink to his heart's content. Nor was the thick woollen shirt his only dress: the *garb* was the penance, not the absence of under-clothing.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Milman, to heighten the effect of the scene, speaks grandiloquently (and inaccurately) of "the King, the heir of a long line of Emperors." And of the interview between Gregory and Henry: "With bare feet, still in the garb of penance, stood the King, a man of singularly tall and noble person, with a countenance accustomed to flash command and terror upon his adversaries, before the Pope, a grey-haired man, bowed with years, of small, unimposing stature." Wondrous strange, that the Dean of St. Paul's should be ignorant that moral worth and true dignity have no necessary connexion with broad shoulders. We think something in this description reminds us of St. Paul's person.

But Milman's indictment does not end here. After relating the story about the ordeal by the Holy Eucharist, as given by Lambert, he winds up by a series of clever questions: "Was this but a blind determination to push his triumph to the utmost? Had he fully contemplated the dreadful alternative which he offered to the King? . . . In that case, did he not discern the incredible wickedness of thus tempting the King?" &c. How lynx-eyed is Protestantism! How tender-conscienced the Dean becomes before a possible wrong done by a Pope! But all this acuteness is out of place. The whole story is a fable. Döllinger, as long ago as 1838 (and so before Milman wrote), rejected it. Dr. Hefele (v. 89, 90) in our judgment completely annihilates it. His main reasons are (a) its *intrinsic* impossibility. The ordeal, if successfully undergone, would have freed Henry from the necessity of the trial before the German princes. But Gregory had to the last made this an indispensable condition to a release from excommunication, and no entreaties could induce him to give it up. (b) Its *extrinsic* improbability. (1) Lambert, who lived in Germany, is the only writer who knows anything about the ordeal. (2) Berthold, who also lived in Germany, knows that Henry received Holy Communion, but he is silent as to any ordeal. Hefele, from these two circumstances, rightly concludes that various rumours about the Canossa business crossed the Alps. But (3) Bonizo and Donizo, two other great authorities, who were in close relations with the Pope and Matilda, and the second of whom lived at Canossa, know nothing of the ordeal. Nay, Bonizo's narrative, negatively excludes the ordeal. He says that Gregory administered the

Thus Gregory succeeded in uniting the merciful clemency, which befitted him as our Saviour's vicar, and the justice which he owed to the German princes. The absolution from ecclesiastical censures belonged to him alone, and this absolution in nowise prejudged the civil question. Henry was in the same position, with respect to the German princes, after as before his absolution. As the excommunication was inflicted by the Church, so was it removed by the Church, and neither by the one act nor the other were the civil rights of Henry's former subjects violated. The conditions of reconciliation imposed by Gregory were designed to protect those rights, and nothing but prejudice could consider them harsh and unfeeling.<sup>19</sup> Gregory willingly forgave the injuries and insults offered to himself; but he could not in justice overlook the solemn and reiterated complaints of the Germans against the King. Accordingly, in his letter to the Germans, he tells them of the conditions he had imposed, conditions which at once satisfied justice and left untouched the questions on which he had been invited by both sides to sit in judgment. "This being the condition of affairs," says Gregory, "we are desirous of coming to you on the first opportunity. For we wish you to be assured of this, that (as you can gather from the guarantees we have described) the cause of the whole kingdom is still suspended, so that our arrival among you and unanimity on your side seem to be especially necessary. Continue, then, to rely upon us, and to act with justice, in the knowledge that we have not bound ourselves to the King, otherwise than by undertaking that he may depend upon us so far as we may be able to help him,

Blessed Eucharist to Henry with the words that, if the King were truly humble, and recognized Gregory as true Pope and himself as truly excommunicated, the Sacred Host would be his salvation; if not, Satan would deal with him as with Judas. This clearly has no connexion with an ordeal or with the future trial.

Dean Milman must have known of these discrepancies, must have known of Döllinger's view, must have known the uncertainty at least of the story. He gives it as undoubted history.

<sup>19</sup> Dean Milman, who seems to have been afflicted by that curious disease, which by a sort of fatality visits a few in each generation of English Protestants, can never find a good word or act of Gregory. He says of the Pope's terms to Henry, that they "had no redeeming touch of gentleness or compassion." Justice must precede gentleness or compassion. The Pope could not in justice have dispensed with any material article. Gregory was bound to respect the rights of Henry's oppressed subjects before showing his gentleness or compassion. To speak of Henry's "versatility of character," as the cause of Gregory's conduct, is to distort the truth of history. Dean Milman quotes Lambert, Bruno, and other contemporary annalists, and knows well that their interpretation of Henry's versatility is that "he respected no law, human or divine," which stood in the way of his lusts and passions.

as his own good and honour may require, and so far as justice and mercy will allow without danger to his or our own conscience."

Henry, however, was bent upon depriving his only true friend of all pretext of intercession. He had no sooner left Canossa than he broke the agreement there made, as he had broke the compact of Tribur. Insincerity and faithlessness were engrained in him. Like a penitent drunkard, he saw his old boon-companions and was vanquished on the spot. In this case, the infamous Lombard bishops claim the credit of bringing him to this breach of faith. These bad men, on hearing of his descent into Italy, raised the pæan at the prospect of victory over their detested enemy, Gregory. Henry for the moment escaped them and got absolution from his excommunication. When, however, on his departure from Canossa they learnt what happened there, they fell into a paroxysm of fury. They in their turn threatened to deprive Henry of Italy, and to set up another Pope who should crown the young Conrad in his father's place. Henry, alarmed at this opposition, put himself into the hands of the Lombards, and, as Lambert says, broke through his engagements with the Pope as though they were cobwebs. He set watches at the various 'passes of the Alps to prevent Gregory's journey to Augsburg. Meantime, the German princes, who had heard of the Canossa affair, seeing the impossibility of the projected assembly at Augsburg, invited Gregory to meet them at Forchheim on the 13th of March (1077). In answer the Pope wrote that, though he could not feel satisfied with the conduct of Henry, or entertain any great hopes of the fulfilment of his promises, he would nevertheless apply to the King to give a safe conduct for this journey in accordance with his Canossa engagements; and that in any case he would come, if it were possible. Gregory, at the same time that he despatched this letter, sent two legates to inform the Germans that the King had occupied all the passes, and to beg them to have patience, and not elect another king at least till his arrival at Forchheim.

On the 15th of March, 1077, Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, was elected King at Forchheim. This decisive step was taken against the known wishes of Gregory, whose hope was still that everything could be arranged in a conciliatory manner. The election, however, was the signal for civil war. Gregory could not take part with either side. He threatened Rudolf

with deposition, if it proved that he could not show cause for the step he had taken. It is manifest that the Pope could not with any justice espouse the side of Henry. Accordingly he strove to hold the balance even, and to determine between the two by a personal investigation. That the Pope was impartial in his dealings is sufficiently evidenced by the reproaches of both parties.<sup>20</sup> "Our countrymen," says the fiery Bruno, "on receipt of these letters, were sorely disappointed in the hopes they had had of the apostolic rock ; as they would sooner have believed that the heavens were standing still, or that the earth was in motion like heaven, than that the Chair of Peter would lose the firmness of Peter."

Gregory found it impossible to settle matters personally in Germany, as Henry's partisans kept a strict watch over the Alpine passes, and had seized and imprisoned two of the Pope's legates. He therefore held a synod in Rome (February, 1078), at which were present envoys from both Henry and Rudolf. Here another meeting was determined upon. The heads of the two parties were to be absent, and the decision was to be come to by the nobles of both sides. Henry accepted the proposition. A truce on the condition of the *status quo* was to last till fifteen days after the close of the conference. This plan, however, like all that preceded it, failed : Rudolf could not rely on Henry's good faith, as he was evidently engaged in corrupting the allegiance of the opposite side. Both sides had secretly prepared themselves for settling their quarrel by the sword, and on the 7th of August an indecisive battle was fought near Melrichstadt, in Franconia. Both sides sent news of a victory to Gregory, who, they thought, would be disposed to decide in favour of the conqueror. At the same time Rudolf's friends complained loudly of the slowness and excessive forbearance of the Pope towards an excommunicated and deposed King, who, so long as he was not definitely cast off by Gregory, had the means of doing so much damage to the country.

Henry on his side showed how little he cared for the Pope or for justice, so long as he was supported by strong forces. He marched through Swabia, burning and harrying, destroying churches, profaning everything sacred, and outraging women. He set the laws against investiture at defiance, and expelled one bishop to make room for another who was a creature of his own.

<sup>20</sup> Bruno, Migne, vol. cxlvii. p. 559, seq.

The horrors of civil war filled up the years 1077-8. The Saxons complained bitterly of Gregory's favour to Henry, and Henry called upon the Pope to excommunicate Rudolf for usurping the crown that did not belong to him. Again, in the synod of 1078, Henry insolently made the same demand, in answer to which the Pope, with a patient pertinacity that can only be wondered at, and hardly understood, informed Henry's envoys that unless their master returned to his duty by the synod of the following year, that sentence would fall upon himself. These few words may sum up the events of these two years. They were two years of patient suffering to Gregory, who persisted in his resolve not to recognize Rudolf till a fair and open trial had made the crimes and tyranny of Henry manifest to the world. But he saw at length that such a trial was always frustrated by Henry's faithlessness and duplicity: it was incumbent upon him to take some step towards restoring peace to torn and distracted Germany.

In the synod held in Rome in February, 1079, the legates of Rudolf appeared. They had succeeded in evading the watch set upon the Alps by Henry. Again the same proposition for an investigation into the claims of both kings on the side of the Pope; both sides, as before, agreed to stand by the decision. As before, this agreement came to nothing. The legates were bribed by Henry, the Saxons were deceived: but the cause of justice in the hands of the Pope was safe, and instead of accepting the false reports brought him by his faithless legates, he by diligent inquiry discovered the truth and punished the offenders.

We have now arrived at March, 1080. Henry had been first excommunicated in 1076. His deposition should have followed in 1077. From that time to 1080, by insincere promises to the Pope and to the German people, he had contrived to hold on to a divided power and to elude all investigation into his life and conduct. During these four years Gregory might by a word have definitively deposed Henry and established the throne of Rudolf. Henry's enemies clamoured for this word. Henry's conduct challenged it, the ruined state of the country arising from the civil war urged it. But Gregory was bent on acting with justice to both sides: he long hoped for better things from Henry, and when these hopes were dashed to the ground, he sought the deposition of Henry in the way of a public trial. This method failing, he finally

on March 7th, 1080, recognized Rudolf as King. The solemn act of deposition begins with an invocation to the Princes of the Apostles, and continues: "Henry, whom they call king, the son of the Emperor Henry, has lifted his heel against your Church by entering into a conspiracy with many Ultramontanes and Italians, and by striving to enslave it by means of my deposition. But your authority resisted and your power destroyed his pride. Then in his confusion and disgrace he came to me in Lombardy and sought absolution from his excommunication. And I . . . restored him to (ecclesiastical) communion, though not to his kingdom, from which I had in the Roman Synod deposed him . . . And thus I acted in order to do justice between him and the Ultramontane bishops or nobles, who had resisted him by order of your Church, and to restore peace, as Henry promised me on oath by two bishops. But the above-mentioned bishops and princes, hearing that he was not keeping the promise he had made to me, in despair and without advice of mine, as you are witnesses, chose Rudolf King. . . . Meantime, Henry began to beg me to help him against Rudolf. This I promised to do, after hearing both sides, so as to see which side had right. . . . You are my witnesses that I have never to this day helped either party except when justice was on its side. . . . Henry, however, with his partisans by preventing the conference incurred excommunication, was guilty of the death of a vast number of Christians, caused churches to be destroyed, and laid waste nearly the whole kingdom of the Teutons. Therefore, . . . relying on your authority, I again excommunicate the said Henry, whom they call king, and again depriving him of the kingdom of the Teutons and of Italy, I take from him all royal dignity and power, and I forbid any Christian to obey him as king, and release all from their oaths. And that Rudolf, whom the Teutons have chosen King, may rule and defend the kingdom of the Teutons, I grant to all who faithfully adhere to him absolution of their sins and a true blessing in this life and in that to come."<sup>21</sup>

Here we conclude our sketch of the contest between Gregory the Seventh and King Henry<sup>22</sup> the Fourth, of Germany. We have seen the Pope, throughout a series of affronts, provoca-

<sup>21</sup> Paul Bernried, Migne, cxlvi. p. 91, seq.

<sup>22</sup> Henry was never emperor, as he never received the crown from the Pope. The words *rex* and *ex-rex* occur often enough in the annalists, but never *imperator*.



tions, and dangers, lasting over more than four years, bearing with Henry in all patience and love: when the German princes themselves were driven by dire necessity to protect their lives, their goods, and their wives' and daughters' honour from the cruelty and lust of the "representative of a long line of kings," Gregory warned, admonished, and punished in order to bring back the stray sheep. He seemed to forgive "seventy times seven times:" he strove, as the true Vicar of the "Prince of Peace," to restore harmony on the only solid foundation of all concord, that of justice; and only when all his efforts were rendered fruitless by the perverse faithlessness of Henry, when justice to the German people put a limit to righteous clemency towards Henry, did Gregory stretch out his arm to smite the tyrant—*utinam ad pœnitentiam, ut spiritus sit salvus in die Domini.*

Never was sympathy bestowed on a more worthless object than Henry the Fourth. Whatever may be said or thought of the charges made against him by Bruno, as to his conduct towards his wife and sister—charges which human nature almost forbids us to believe—there is still abundantly sufficient left to force us to the conclusion that he was one of the worst kings that the sun ever shone upon. Unless our hatred to the Papacy blinds us to all sense of justice and truth and honour and purity, unless we are prepared to reject contemporary writers, whose authority on other matters we admit, we are forced by overwhelming evidence to the conclusion that Henry was no more fit to govern a Christian people than Commodus to govern the Roman Empire. His royal descent—*Stemmata quid faciunt?* says the Pagan satirist—and his graces of person are thrown into the balance with the skill of rhetoric and style; but such tricks, though they do not blunt the judgment, are well suited to disturb the sentiment of the reader and indirectly to produce an immoral reaction on the mind. The wild calumny that Gregory aimed at universal domination in civil matters is refuted by all the evidence that history affords us—Gregory's letters and contemporary annals—and most triumphantly by Gregory's conduct and character. "None of my predecessors obtained greater advantages than I should have obtained from Henry, had I been willing to deviate from the path of justice. But I fear not the threats of the godless, and prefer to sacrifice my life to consenting to wickedness." Gregory's main contention throughout his pontificate was that the Church, which was

superior in origin, in aim, and in dignity to the civil power, should at least be free in its action and not degraded to the position of a bondwoman of kings and princes.

Gregory's final excommunication of Henry brought the latter three times to the gates of Rome. But no danger could disturb the resolution of this great Pontiff. He retired in 1084 to Salerno, where he ended his troubles with his life. Just before his death he solemnly renewed the excommunication of Henry and of the Antipope, the infamous Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, and in a letter, in which he announces this fact, he says—"The princes of the nations and the priests have gathered together against Christ and His Apostle Peter, in order to destroy the Christian religion. But they could not either by cruelties or by promises mislead those who place their hope in God. For no other reason have they raised their hand against us than that we did not hold our peace at the sign of danger to the Church, and because we would not allow the bride of God to be enslaved. The poorest woman may choose a husband for herself; but the Holy Church, the Bride of God and our Mother, may not dare to cling to her rightful husband upon earth."

On May 25th, 1085, Gregory died. When the last agony had begun he turned to the cardinals and bishops by his bedside, who whispered consolation to him founded on his labours for the Church, and said—"My dear brothers, I do not consider my labours as of any value, as I trust in this only that I have ever loved justice and hated iniquity." On their expressing fears for themselves after his death, he lifted up his eyes and stretched out his hands to heaven, and said, "I go up thither, and will most earnestly commend you to God." He then commanded them on the part of Almighty God and by the authority of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, to accept no one as Roman Pontiff, unless he had been canonically elected. When at his last gasp, the words on his lips were—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and for this reason I die in exile." He thus gave up his unconquered soul to God.<sup>23</sup>

His tombstone at Salerno, erected in the sixteenth century, bears the inscription—"Gregorius VII. Soanensis, P.O.M. Ecclesiæ libertatis vindex acerrimus, assertor constantissimus, qui dum Romani Pontificis auctoritatem adversus Henrici per-

<sup>23</sup> Bernried, l. c. pp. 94, 95.

fidiam strenue tueretur, Salerni sancte decubuit. Anno Domini 1085, oct. Cal. Jun.

"Marc. Anton. Columna, Bononiensis, Archiepiscopus Salernitanus, cum illius corpus post 500 circiter annos sacris amictum et fere integrum reperisset, ne tanti Pontificis sepultura memoria diutius careret, Gregorio XIII. Bonon. sedente, posuit prid. Cal. Quinct. Anno D. 1578."<sup>24</sup>

R. C.

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*Cælestis Urbs Jerusalem.*

TRANSLATED.

CELESTIAL city, bright with every gem,  
Thou dream of peace, divine Jerusalem ;  
Whose stones are living souls, whose rapturous song  
Lifts thee in heaven above the starry throng,  
Girdled with glory in thy bridal state,  
Myriads of angels guarding every gate !

O prosperous bride with beauty crowned and shod,  
Whose dowry is the glory of thy God ;  
Besprent with graces of thy Spouse divine,  
How ev'n thy raiment, holiest Queen, doth shine :  
Thy ruler Christ, thy Prince, thy Holy One,  
City of heaven, resplendent as the sun.

Glittering with pearls, thy glowing gates behold  
Wide open flung in all their wealth of gold.  
Virtue's clear nimbus shining o'er each head,  
Hither come mortals through temptations led,  
Chastened by earthly woes for love of Him  
Who is the bliss of burning Seraphim.

Salubrious wounds the chisel oft would show,  
Struck from the marble by the forming blow,  
The ponderous mallet o'er the stones would wield,  
When Heaven's Artificer thy pomps did build,  
Till, aptly joined and crowned, the glorious pile  
Shone in full beauty 'neath th' Almighty's smile.

Homage and glory, then, with loud acclaim  
To God in Highest let all earth proclaim ;  
Alike to Father and Son we raise,  
To Paraclete alike, our songs of praise :  
To whom be honour, power, glory given  
For endless ages in the courts of heaven.

C. K.

<sup>24</sup> Hefele v. p. 165.

## *La Tour St. Joseph.*

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### MOTHER HOUSE OF THE LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR.

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THERE are few Catholics who have not, now and then, during the course of the recent years of trial and persecution of the Church, been tempted to lift up their clasped hands to heaven and ask of God some sign that His divine hand had not left the rudder of St. Peter's bark. And yet, a moment's thought, a rapid flight of the memory over the world's surface far and near, would be all-sufficient to console us, and afford an overwhelming sentiment of joy. It would give us the most entire certainty that not only was our Blessed Lord steadfastly directing the course of His Divine Institution, the Church Catholic, amidst the rocks and breakers of our age, but that for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, He was performing in our very midst miracles of grace as marvellous, as sublime, as were ever granted to the Church in her moments of the most complete triumph and prosperity. We need hardly suggest, as some few special sources of consolation, the glorious spectacle of Christ's Vicar, Pius the Ninth, erect and steadfast in the Vatican; the united, the universal devotion to his person, of the whole Catholic world; the intimate bond of union between pastors and people never drawn so close in the whole history of the Church; the singular faithfulness and purity of the clergy; the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in America and Australia; in fine, the innumerable vocations to a religious life, and the heroic charity which prompts many of them in an age, when, as a rule,

Gone is sweet charity,  
And hearts are hard and cold,

to devote themselves to God's poor, and above all, to those broken by poverty and age. And this brings us to the special consideration of an Institution founded but yesterday, and

which, nevertheless, has grown with a supernatural growth, grown with a growth of charity, of simplicity, of humility, of the most entire reliance on God, the most heroic devotion to His poor—"who are always with us"—which marks it as one of those marvellous phenomena which are to be found within the pale of the Catholic Church alone—we mean the Institute of the Little Sisters of the Poor.

Familiar as the history of this foundation must be to almost all of our readers, we may be pardoned if in a few words we repeat what it must be always a subject of edification and wonder to recall. Brittany, "the land of loyalty and heroic devotion," was the cradle of the Institute. A generous and zealous priest, Abbé Le Pailleur, a native of St. Malo, and curate in the little town of St. Servan, was, under God, its founder. Two young women, of humble origin, but chosen children of God, first presented themselves to the good priest, and his long cherished desire of affording some organized assistance to the numerous poor of the parish, was first developed, by their aid. For two years the Abbé Le Pailleur, trained these young aspirants to a heroic life in the ways of self-abnegation and the love of Christ, but without at first confiding to them his project of charity. At length, when the hour of God had struck, he communicated his project to them, brought them together, and thus the "grain of mustard-seed" was planted.

In an humble dwelling, the attic of which he hired, the two young women were established, and under their charitable care a poor blind woman, aged eighty years, was placed, the first of the thousands of suffering age that have since followed. This first foundation was made on the 15th of October, 1840. As we write, the Institute of the Little Sisters of the Poor numbers a hundred and forty-five houses in Europe and America; two thousand four hundred sisters, and three hundred novices, are either working or preparing for their labour of sublime charity; and more than eighteen thousand aged poor of both sexes are enjoying the peace and calm of the Homes of the Little Sisters as a vestibule to the life to come to them so shortly; whilst, since its foundation, thirty-five years ago, not less than forty thousand aged men and women have partaken of this charity, and gone to bear testimony of it before the throne of God. The venerable founder, the Abbé Le Pailleur, still lives, and one of the first Sisters, Marie

Augustine de la Compassion, still directs the vast sisterhood as Superior-General. But what is most wonderful of all is to remember that all this wonderful growth is the result of implicit reliance on Almighty God, no funds can be accumulated by the rule of the Institute—*La Petite Famille vit du jour au jour*.

It was our special good fortune to be allowed to visit the Mother House, where these devoted "Sisters of the Poor" are trained to their labour of love, during the course of last year. Leaving the railway between St. Malo and Rennes, passing under the shadow of the massive walls and towers of the ancient *château-fort* of the Chateaubriands, at Combourg, we passed the richly cultivated district of the department of the Ille et Vilaine, and after a long drive through fields which had yielded their rich harvest, under apple trees laden with gilded and ruby fruit, and by tracts of *sarazin* with its white drift of flower rising above its forest of red stalk, we slowly mounted the steep hill on which stands the ancient and picturesque town of Bécherel. From this height a wonderful view presents itself, a vast carpet of deep soft green spreading away in every direction, only broken here and there by the village spire—marking, thank God, the Adorable Presence, and not a desolate and desecrated church as, alas! at home—whilst far away on the northern horizon gleams the silver sea, the winding and picturesque Vilaine, breaking in with its reflected lights to the east and south. We soon began to descend the height of Bécherel, and evening descended with us, but not before, rising out of a darkening sea of foliage, we saw the granite spire of La Tour St. Joseph, crowned by the colossal statue of the holy Patriarch, the special patron and protector of the Little Sisters of the Poor. Passing through a quiet Breton hamlet, with its quaint old church and shingled spire, and granite Calvary, we entered on the property of the Institute marked by a simple signboard, but unguarded by any jealous gate or barrier. Through fields and orchards, where the evidences of patient and skilful labour were plain, and where a group of Little Sisters returning through the coming dusk, showed by whom that labour was bestowed, we reached the Convent, and there a cordial welcome, such as was to be expected from the devoted and genial Père Ernest Lelièvre, well-known, and respected as well as known, to many of our readers, awaited us, with a no less truly Catholic hospitality by La Bonne Mère de la Conception, sister of the original



foundress, and the fifth of those received into the *La Petite Famille*. We were just in time for Benediction of the most Blessed Sacrament, and rarely, if ever, did the feeling of the special sanctity which seemed to envelope and permeate the church and its very atmosphere descend so deeply into our soul as on that evening, as in the half-lit aisle we knelt apart from the long lines of the calm and absorbed Sisters who in their black cloaks filled the vast nave.

The next morning rose early upon us, as we stood looking from our quarters in the old château of the De Saint Pern's, over the *bocage* with the shifting wreaths of white mist, and the spire of a distant church here and there, or the steep, pitched roof of an occasional *manoir*, rising through them. Mass over, we proceeded to visit the establishment and its belongings, and we will endeavour to describe them as well as our untrained pen will permit.

The property, as we hinted above, was formerly the ancestral home of the De St. Pern family, and about it wanders the melancholy ghost of one of those sad stories bequeathed to France by the hideous Revolution of 1794. The Count de St. Pern had passed before the mockery of the revolutionary Court at Nantes, to be condemned to the guillotine. His daughter, in despair, besought his pardon, and found it only in the terrible ransom of her own person as the wife of an officer in the revolutionary army. Needless to speak of the suffering, the anguish, that could not but result from this heroic sacrifice, this most unnatural union. These walls were witness of some twenty years of slow martyrdom, and when worn out by this "canker worm," she, who had been Mademoiselle de St. Pern died, the château remained desolate, all but for one daughter who lived alone within its decaying walls, and with a mysterious ban, as it were, upon its silent chambers. At last a new and blessed life came into it, and the then all but infant family of the Little Sisters of the Poor, purchased it, thanks to the generous aid, which, under God, has never failed their earnest prayers and unlimited reliance in heaven. They found it decayed and neglected, but it was put into habitable repair, and year by year, as the Institute grew, the necessity of supplementing its limited space obliged new building to be erected, so that now the old château is but a dependence, and serves as the lodging for the chaplain and a guest-house, with the various apartments reserved for the transaction of the

extensive correspondence of the Institution carried on hence to every part of Europe and America in which a House of the Little Sisters is established. The rear of the old house, with steep pitched roofs and dormers, looks on a quaint and formal garden, with clipped shrubs, and a shady *charmille*, and at its extremity descends a green and narrow valley, in which was being completed the vast and not unpicturesque washing establishment of the Convent, its bright red-tiled roof mingling with the varied green of meadows and pine trees in the grey distance.

Before the château, with its old scutcheon and its rudely carved supporters, effaced by the childish spite of the Revolution, is the old forecourt with the dependencies on either hand, terminated by the quaint old domestic chapel, the characteristic feature of every old Breton château, whilst a formal row of clipped trees leads up to the old gateway that once formed the limit of the buildings. But now beyond rises a vast pile, the Convent and Novitiate, sheltering beneath its roof upwards of four hundred souls, of whom not less than three hundred are learning the strict yet sweet laws of Holy Obedience, Self-Abnegation, and entire Charity for Christ's sake. Advancing beyond the gateway we have just left, the apsidal end of the great convent church first presents itself. It is a large building, but not too large for its requirements, and is the noble gift of two generous benefactors of the Little Sisters of the Poor, M. and M<sup>de</sup>. Feburier. M. Feburier sleeps his long sleep beneath the floor of the sanctuary, and M<sup>de</sup>. Feburier, having no other ties with earth, is now a novice at La Tour. The plan of the structure is a fine one, a vast nave and aisles, with lofty clerestory and triforia, transepts and apsidal sanctuary with its ambulatory. The style is "Norman," as we are accustomed to call it, and chiefly executed in the grey granite found on the property, but with its upper portion and vaulted roof in white limestone, producing an excessive contrast much to be regretted from a purely architectural point of view. Throughout the ornamentation and the fittings are of that strict simplicity always observed in, and so characteristic of, the churches or chapels of the Institute. One work of religious art well worthy of notice adorns the walls, in the shape of a most remarkable picture of St. John of God washing the feet of Christ as a pilgrim, by M. Lafond, the gift of the able artist, a true and devoted Catholic, to the Little Sisters.

In direct communication with the church, and linked by a vast corridor upwards of four hundred feet in length, is the Convent proper, extending thus at right angles from the church, and from this again run out, towards the opposite side, long wings of buildings to the number of three, yet to be increased by one more, and a proportionate extension of the principal *corps de batiment*. This vast extent of buildings contain all the various apartments for the carrying out of the daily life and rule of the Institute. Work-rooms, linen-rooms, oratory, dining-rooms, kitchens, infirmaries, dormitories, &c, all as may be supposed, considering the numbers they were to accommodate, vast in size, but all utterly devoid of the smallest approach to anything like ornamentation, nay all of most monastic simplicity of construction, yet all spotlessly clean and all in the most exquisite order. In the *vestiaire*, neatly folded away and ticketted were the "worldly" clothes of the novices in which they have presented themselves as postulants and which will be restored in case of non-perseverance. The kitchen is the perfection of arrangement, with its vast *fourneaux economiques*, its gleaming *casseroles* (which would have rejoiced the heart of a Jan Steen), and above all its perfect order and cleanliness, and further as a striking example of the truth of the remark that a religious house is really "*une Republique de la Charité*," here was the foundress of the great convent church occupied in paring and preparing vegetables for the *pot au feu*. In the work-room, the marvellous ingenuity with which everything is turned to account would be worthy of a fairy tale were we not writing of a convent. The spacious infirmaries were but scantily occupied, and the few patients were none of them seriously ill, indeed had they been, the benevolent joyous physiognomy of the Sister Infirmarian would have been enough to cure them, independently of her real skill in the healing art, which as we learnt was acknowledged by the leading members of the medical profession of Rennes.

No words of ours can express the tranquil peace, the holy calm, and the silent activity, which pervaded even those of the vast *salles* which were occupied. If a face was raised from work to answer a question, the same abstracted air of perfect happiness, not of this world, of deep calm and angelic purity, beamed forth from eyes and lips and brow. St. Joseph the great Saint had set the seal of his Divine foster-Son upon all these young hearts, and lowly or of high lineage as might be their birth—

French or English or Irish or Belgian as might be their nationality—all, all, was absorbed in one thought, one aspiration—*Christo in pauperibus*. We passed from the Convent to the grounds beyond, where long alleys with bordering flowers and shrubs lead up to turfed pedestals on which stand images of *La bonne Vierge*, or other of God's chosen ones, and where the Sisters and Novices recreate themselves, in joyous bands at the appointed hours. The vast extent of the Convent is seen from the garden, and its size united with its dignified simplicity makes it a most imposing structure, whilst high above its centre, towers up the church spire and its crowning statue which welcomed us from afar on our arrival.

Our next visit was to the extensive farm buildings where great quantities of stock are reared for the use of the convent, where a row of pig-styes that would gladden the heart of a Yorkshire farmer, and a *basse cour* with a collection of poultry, some five hundred cocks and hens, that might furnish a poultry show from its own resources, are all subjects of interest even to the uninitiated. And here what is really curious to witness, and is a fact which is indisputable, is the influence these Little Sisters, often timid women, entirely unaccustomed to deal with cattle, seem to acquire over their four-footed charge. We met a troop of young frisky heifers and Breton cows, which have the activity and waywardness of goats rather than the staid sobriety of our own cattle, and made way out of respect for their heels and horns, but the Sisters who were driving them back to their stalls told us to have no heed, for *même la jeunesse était douce*; and we heard of another case in which a Little Sister, whose worldly name was that of one of the noblest Belgian aristocracy, and whose duty led her into the farm, timid and all unaccustomed as she was to such a duty, by the simple force of obedience to her own Superior, and by the calm practice of that primary law of the religious life, not only vanquished her own fears, but became most skilful in her management of her ruminating charge. Every animal is numbered, and answers to its number when called by the well-known voice, and quietly quits or enters its stall as it may happen to be ordered. The Sisters tend their cattle, look after their pigs, and care for their fowls, with the aid of a few devoted farm labourers, mostly relatives of the Sisterhood and who have devoted their lives to aid and assist the Community in the ruder part of their toil. Beyond the farm buildings stretch

acres of garden and pasture land all inclosed by lofty walls, and on these walls clothed with *espalliers* hung thousands of the most magnificent and luscious pears, which would have made the glory of a Covent Garden stall, whilst huge gourds in which Cinderella might easily have gone to court, lay basking in the sun amidst their exquisitely shaped foliage, and vegetables of every kind, splendid in quality and growth, bespoke an untiring labour, a prolific soil, and, one could not but recognize it, a special and paternal blessing from the Master of all.

Such is La Tour St. Joseph, such the Maison Mère of the Little Sisters of the Poor. It is little to be wondered at that, after some years spent under this blessed roof, when the hour of sacrifice comes, and the Little Sister leaves it, for a new home in a strange land, the struggle should be a hard one, the pang of separation sharp—little to be wondered that the memory of La Tour, amidst daily toil, far away though she may be, raises a happy smile on the face of the Little Sister. Few however return to see it; their harvest is garnered into the eternal home early as a rule, in life, the last sacrifice of generous devotion and entire abnegation. Few sleep in the little cemetery at La Tour, whence assuredly many a radiant and glorified body will arise at the day of doom, but wherever it pleases God that the Little Sister shall be laid in her humble and unknown grave, we may be well assured that of her it will safely be said—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord."

G. G.

## *Vaticanism and Fanaticism.*

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'Of all the forms of fanaticism," says a modern critic, "religious fanaticism is the most intense. It gives to the soul a singular force, a terrible energy, a power almost boundless."<sup>1</sup> It would be well if some well-informed writer would give us a 'Natural History of Fanaticism." Modern times would certainly afford a number of interesting facts which such a writer might classify and philosophize upon. It is enough for our present purpose to take some of the more commonly obvious phenomena of fanaticism as to which all observers are probably agreed. It will be agreed, for instance, that it is no use to reason with a fanatic; that he never acknowledges himself in the wrong; that he is wonderfully unscrupulous; that he is very narrow-minded; that he creates for himself an ideal out of his own brain, in the shape either of an idol or a bugbear, before which he crouches, either in the intoxication of worship or the abject prostration of terror. Fanaticism in controversy shows itself in rudeness of language, freedom of insinuation, assertion where argument is required, unfairness to adversaries, and an utter inability to acknowledge convicted error or demonstrated ignorance. We do not mean to say that none but fanatics are guilty of these controversial faults, but that fanatics, at least, are sure to be guilty of them. We are going to illustrate this thesis from the last publication of a fanatic of a very pronounced type, with whom it is obviously no use to reason. It is always a mournful sight when a fine and cultivated mind is possessed by fanaticism, and we cannot but mourn with unusual intensity when this mind happens to be that of one who has been long held in honour and who has done good service to the community. We may also lament the mischief which the fanaticism in such a case may do, the disturbance to quiet and peaceable citizens which it may occasion. But it seems to us better, after all, to look

<sup>1</sup> Fritz, in the *Kirchen Lexicon*. French translation, article "Fanatiques."



things in the face and call them by their right names. Mr. Gladstone gave incipient signs of the disease of which we speak in the famous passage which was interpolated into his essay on Ritualism in last October. His pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees* showed an advanced form of the malady, and his latest production, *Vaticanism*, shows that it has completely mastered him.

Mr. Gladstone—it is one of the signs of that unscrupulousness which belongs, not to him by nature, but to the Fanaticism which has made him its tool—has charged the writers on the Catholic side against him with a “stratagem”<sup>2</sup> in the sensitiveness which they have shown to what was universally felt by the Catholic laity as well as clergy to be a groundless insult on his part. This is not the only passage in the late pamphlet in which he has been free in insinuation. He here not obscurely charges the writers against him with insincerity. We need hardly say how utterly he misconceives the spirit of the Catholic body if he imagines it possible that they should not resent the insult in question. But it is characteristic of Fanaticism to be serenely self-complacent in the conviction that it knows and understands the feelings and the whole position of other people far better than themselves.

But we allude to this passage in the pamphlet before us chiefly for the sake of making two remarks preliminary to what we have further to say. The first is, that even if we were to wage war on Mr. Gladstone’s principles, we should have a perfect right to suppose in him what he has insinuated as to others—to say, for instance, that his compliments to Dr. Newman, or Bishop Clifford, or Archbishop Manning, or his profession of a friendly motive, or that he has written under a sense of duty, are “stratagems” and the like. The second remark is that we are treating Mr. Gladstone with far more courtesy than he has himself used when, as we sincerely believe to be the case, we set down a large part of the extraordinary “strategy” which his last pamphlet displays, among other phenomena not very pleasant to handle, to that extreme ingenuity which Fanaticism has the power of inspiring, and which, under any other theory as to its origin might perhaps become the subject of very serious moral blame. We would fain say as little as may be about Mr. Gladstone himself, the able, earnest, cultivated, high-minded English statesman who

<sup>2</sup> *Vaticanism*, p. 112.

has filled a large space in the contemporary history of our country, and consider the "portentous" and "fearfully energetic" manifestation of unfairness and arrogance of thought and language before us, as a psychological study of the very highest interest to those who care to trace the workings of the power of Fanaticism in lowering the mind which it has enslaved.

The pamphlet before us is nominally an "answer to replies and reproofs," but, as in this instance, so of many similar productions, Fanaticism has found it well to import a good deal of new matter into the discussion, instead of fighting out the battle on its own lines. Thus, Cardinal Manning has pressed the writer before us very hard on the score of that evident sympathy with the persecution in Germany which must exist in every fanatical heart, but which it does not quite do to avow before an English public: and instead of any statement on the other side, we have a sheet full of matter about the English Catholics which is drawn from somewhat suspicious sources. And yet the German question was no excrescence—as it is here insinuated that it was—on Cardinal Manning's argument; it was part of a clear proof that the altered state of relations between the Church and several European States was the direct result of aggression of the most intolerable kind on the part of the State, and had nothing whatever to do with the Vatican Decrees. Fanaticism in England has in this case merely echoed the falsehoods put in currency, with the cynical insolence of tyranny, by the German Chancellor, who seems to share with Garibaldi the admiration of Mr. Gladstone. Prince Bismarck's assertions have been solemnly denied by the collective German Episcopate: but of course, as the German bishops are only ecclesiastics, and have not that bright illumination as to theological matters, and the meaning and tendency of the definitions of the Church, for which it is essential to look at them from outside, and without the slightest acquaintance with the system to which they belong, their solemn denial only makes it more likely than before that Prince Bismarck, whether he believed what he said or not, is right in his account of the matter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It is fair to give Mr. Gladstone due credit for the avowal which he has made that he really considers it an advantage to look at Catholic things and doctrines from outside, and apparently with as little an acquaintance as possible with them. At least we gather this from his answer to the illustration which compares them to a

We may find it necessary hereafter to say a few words as to the case of the English Catholics ; but we cannot part from the German question without formally inviting Mr. Gladstone, not as a fanatic, but as an English statesman, to declare himself a little more fully as to what other Englishmen find no difficulty in speaking their minds upon. It is said that one of the main objects which he had in view in the publication of his pamphlets has been the influencing of the minds of foreigners by what they will, at all events, consider an authoritative declaration of English opinion on the question of persecution. Mr. Gladstone has in this pamphlet formally declared that he considers the treatment of English Catholics by the Government of their country from the days of Elizabeth to those of George the Third "substantially just." He has therefore pledged himself to the justice of the penal laws in general, without any reservation. This avowal may not be without its effect in Germany : but we maintain that, in order that Englishmen may understand the late leader of the Liberal party better, it would be well for him to speak at a little more length on the subject. At this moment Prince Bismarck—and his laws may be passed by acclamation, the "Liberals" voting for them with enthusiasm but without listening to argument, before these lines are put before our readers—is going beyond Elizabeth and the Stuarts in disendowing the Catholic Church in Prussia, without releasing her in the slightest degree from the iron grip of the State. She is to have no support or

painted window. "When we look at the object in the free air and full light of day which God has given us, its structure is repulsive and its arrangement chaotic ; but if we will part with a great portion of that light, by passing within the walls of a building made by man, then indeed it will be able to bear our scrutiny" (p. 78). We have always considered that light and air, like other gifts of God, are best used, in reference to the objects as to which they are to assist us, when those objects themselves are put in their proper relation to them. As a window is undoubtedly meant to be seen through and not looked at from outside, there can be little doubt that the proper way to use light with respect to it is not the way which Mr. Gladstone advocates. He is too serious a man merely to play upon words, and we may therefore consider this, as we say, an avowal on the part of Fanaticism that Catholicism is best understood by people who carefully place themselves in a position where they can gain no assistance at all from the light of day which God has given them. At this rate, the aspect presented by the Christian Church to her heathen persecutors and calumniators—the forerunners of Prince Bismarck and Mr. Gladstone—is obviously a far less misleading one than that which she presented to those within her fold, say St. Paul, St. John, and the early martyrs. We need hardly add, that Mr. Gladstone seems to us most faithfully to have acted on that principle, of looking at painted glass from the outside, which he here deliberately defends. The practice is not uncommon—the avowal and defence appear to us fanatical.

help from the State, but she is still to be subject to the Falck laws, and indeed to others still more severe.

"It is stated that a Test Act is also in contemplation," says a Protestant writer, whose fairness Mr. Gladstone might well envy, "that Roman Catholics are not to be permitted either to become municipal officers (burgomasters) or civil servants, without taking an oath repudiating the right of the Church to interfere between them and the laws of the State. The same test must in common logic be applied to the army as well as to the service, for indeed, in the army disloyalty, if disloyalty were to be feared, would be much more dangerous. . . . The whole policy is a miserable bit of vicious and retrograde legislation, and as far as we can see, without a single particle of evidence of that kind of disaffection which alone would have justified it."<sup>4</sup>

Vicious and retrograde this legislation may be, but we submit it is eminently Gladstonian as well as Bismarckian, and here we have Mr. Gladstone formally asserting that the legislation from which it is copied, the legislation which enacted the civil disabilities of Catholics in England, was "substantially just." He has been telling us lately that the country has a right to know this or that about our allegiance and the rest, and has presumed, as if he were still Prime Minister, to interrogate and catechize us in the name of our sovereign and our fellow-countrymen. Well, let us take the liberty of interrogating him, and ask him, instead of riding off upon the question of the English Catholics—as to which he has already been convicted of the grossest ignorance and misrepresentation<sup>5</sup>—to meet fairly the challenge implied in Cardinal Manning's section about the late measures of Germany, and tell us, moreover, what he thinks about the present policy of Prince Bismarck.

Another considerable head of new matter imported into this "answer" of Mr. Gladstone's relates to the history of the Council of Constance, which he has apparently been "getting up" with his usual industry, but also with his not unusual superficiality. We can hardly imagine that the writer can be quite satisfied with this section, and we shall have to say a

<sup>4</sup> *Spectator*, March 13, p. 794.

<sup>5</sup> It can seldom have happened to an English public man of our time—and we do not forget that Lord Russell still lives—to be so clearly convicted of "a series of statement absolutely unfounded and directly opposed to fact," as Mr. Gladstone by the author of a letter to the *Spectator* (March 13), signed "an Irish Catholic" on the Protestation of 1789. We wonder what Fanaticism will say to it.

few words which are requisite to refute it before we part from the pamphlet. But it all comes out so pat and neat, that it can hardly be that the author could have had no suspicion of the rottenness and hollowness of his work. The Popes, according to the fanatical theory, are not such fools, and they have behind them—such is the vivid imagination of fanaticism—a whole army of veiled prophets, myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber, Curialists, Jesuits, whose name Mr. Gladstone “loathes” to use—and who may perhaps console themselves under his fierce hatred and repeated obloquy by the consideration that he probably knows no more about them than his friend and colleague in the *Quarterly Review*—and others, who devote the most cultivated intellects, the most concentrated “brain-power,” and the most unscrupulous audacity, to the building up of the Pontifical despotism, and forcing it upon the world. And yet such men—of whom certainly no one need be afraid if they can commit themselves so grossly and palpably as Mr. Gladstone has supposed—have made “Vaticanism commit itself out of its own mouth,” settle the question against itself, and Pope Pius the Ninth openly and in terms contradict Pope Martin the Fifth. Of course a better acquaintance with history might have saved Fanaticism from running into this absurdity, as we shall hereafter show. Meanwhile, we notice this section as an instance of the twofold working of the principle on the mind of an intelligent Englishman—first, in forcing on him the convenient course of opening new questions rather than answering old questions, which he is professedly engaged upon; and secondly, that of perverting and distorting history in a manner peculiarly its own, which makes us almost think that the writer would have been happier if he had acted on his now avowed principle, and taken the broad “free air and light of day” method, which justifies absolute ignorance in pronouncing on facts without absolute authority.

But the workings of the fanatical spirit are perhaps better traced in detail than in their larger developments, and for this purpose it may be worth while to take up some definite head out of the many matters over which this new pamphlet ranges, and examine the curious shifts to which fanaticism lets itself be put rather than acknowledge itself in the wrong. In one instance only, as far as we are aware, and then only, as it appears, because the evidence of the difference between his statement and the truth admitted of mathematical demon-

stration, has the writer before us been allowed by the spirit which rules him to plead guilty to a mistake. We are not sanguine that we or any one else will be able to shake a self-complacency so profound; we can only furnish the grounds on which it might well be shaken if it were not under the protecting tutelage of fanaticism. And we shall proceed at once to what those for whom we write may reasonably expect from Catholic critics, an examination of the vindication which is offered in the pamphlet now before us of Mr. Gladstone's statements concerning the Syllabus of 1864. We are not ignorant that questions of this kind are in themselves wearisome, as Mr. Gladstone observes; but as he considers himself "bound to vindicate" his "good faith and care," and as in doing so he has attempted to retort the charges made against him on his critics, we must devote a few pages to this subject, by the end of which we shall trust, not indeed to have convinced Mr. Gladstone himself, who will no doubt believe in his own "care" to the end of the chapter, but to have shown that it is in future unnecessary to consider any statement of his in relation to such subjects as having even an ordinary claim to respect, or to suppose that, however clearly convicted of having said that black is white, it is within the capabilities of his present psychological condition that he should acknowledge it.

We may make some preliminary remarks upon Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the criticisms which have been made on his representations of the Syllabus. The first is this. He has been told by more than one of the writers who have answered him, or remarked upon him, what is indeed evident on the face of the page to any one who reads the Syllabus as officially published, but of which no hint whatever is given by Mr. Gladstone to his own readers, namely, that the propositions condemned in the Syllabus are taken from a number of previous Allocutions and other Papal documents, references being given at the end of each proposition, and that it is absolutely necessary, in order to understand the bearing of each proposition, either to hunt up these references, or to have at least some general knowledge of the Allocutions from which they are taken. "In order to see the nature and extent of the condemnation passed on any proposition of the Syllabus, it is absolutely necessary," says Dr. Newman, "to turn out the passage of the Allocution, Encyclical, or other document in which the condemnation is found; for the wording of the errors which the Syllabus



contains is to be interpreted by its references."<sup>6</sup> Moreover, it is perfectly within the reach of any one who wishes either to obtain or impart to others authentic information as to the true meaning of the propositions of the Syllabus, to do this by referring to a convenient volume published in Paris ten years ago, in which all the Allocutions, Encyclicals, and other documents cited in the Syllabus are collected. Any person, even a Catholic and a theologian, commenting on the Syllabus without making these references, is in certain danger of failing in accuracy. But a Protestant, and a man ignorant of theology, who might venture to act thus would be quite sure to fall from one blunder into another all through his work—unless he possesses the infallibility of Fanaticism. Now we assert without any fear that Mr. Gladstone will contradict us, that he made no use whatever of these references in his first pamphlet, and we are by no means sure that he has condescended to do this in his second. For all that he tells the English public in this part of his work about it, there might be no references, and the *Recueil* might not exist.<sup>7</sup> Here, however, we come upon an instance of that courageous ingenuity which characterizes Fanaticism. There is not an allusion that we can find in this *Vaticanism* to this remark of Dr. Newman's which we have quoted—not a word to indicate the existence of the references in question. If it be true that an acquaintance with them is necessary, Mr. Gladstone was at once and entirely disqualified from interpreting them except on what we may term the "outside the window" principles of Fanaticism. This part of the answer he finds it most convenient to pass over in absolute silence, and we are justified in considering that silence as a very significant admission. It is the only kind of admission that can be expected from Fanaticism.

Our next remark must be on a plea which is alleged by Mr. Gladstone against some of the criticisms which have been made on this part of his original pamphlet. He says—

I did not present each and every proposition for a separate disapproval, but directed attention rather to the effect of the document *as a whole*,<sup>8</sup> in a qualifying passage (p. 13), which no one of my critics has been at the pains to notice (p. 21).

<sup>6</sup> *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> He refers to it, however, once or twice.

<sup>8</sup> The italics are ours.

Now let us see what amount of accuracy there is in this statement. We presume that the "document" to the effect of which, as a whole, attention is directed is the Syllabus. Does Mr. Gladstone really mean to assert that he has ever in his life made the faintest attempt to set before the British public an account of the effect of the Syllabus *as a whole*? If so, he has done his work entirely on fanatical principles. He has carefully hidden from his readers a large number of propositions with which they would fully sympathize, and selected others from which—at least, from his misrepresentation of which—he is quite sure they will turn with aversion. This will seem to most men not under the influence of fanaticism an odd way of giving an idea of a document *as a whole*: nor, indeed, is there any mention of the Syllabus as such in the passage in which he introduces his carefully selected (and garbled) propositions. He says, "I will state in the fewest possible words, and with references, a few propositions all the holders of which have been condemned by the See of Rome during my own generation." The references are not such in the sense in which we have been speaking above, but merely to the propositions of the Encyclical and Syllabus. Now as to the "qualifying passage." These words generally mean, we suppose, a passage which takes off the edge and softens down the effect of the language, or the statement, or the judgment which is "qualified." Let us see, therefore, how Mr. Gladstone has "qualified" the effect of the string of selections which, he now tells us, was meant to draw attention to the effect of the Syllabus "as a whole." The passage is, we suppose, that at p. 18 (not 13) of the original pamphlet. Mr. Gladstone there says that he does not "place all the propositions in one and the same category," for there are a portion of them which, as far as "he" can judge, might, by the combined aid of favourable construction and vigorous explanation, be brought within bounds."

And [he adds] I hold that favourable construction of the terms used in controversies is the right general rule. *But* this can only be so when construction is an open question. When the author of certain propositions claims, as in the case before us, a sole and unlimited power to interpret them in such a manner and by such rules as he may from time to time think fit, the only defence for all others concerned is at once to judge for themselves how much of unreason and mischief the words naturally understood may contain.

This, then, is the "qualifying passage." Fanaticism informs its readers that they must not qualify the words of the Pope as they might in all fairness qualify those of an ordinary mortal. He is falsely said to "claim a sole and unlimited power to interpret them in such a manner and by such rules as he may from time to time think fit," and in consequence, his words are to be treated by the following equitable process. First they are to be mistranslated and misrepresented by a man who does not understand their theological meaning, but who is bent on putting the worst possible construction which he can fit to them, doing violence to the Latin language, as well as to theology, for the purpose.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, when Mr. Gladstone has thus done his part in the process of perversion, the reader is to go on to do his, by carefully shunning every favourable construction of which the already misrepresented propositions admit. And this is a "qualification" to which the writer appeals in proof of his moderation, while he complains that no one of his critics "has been at the pains to notice" the existence of that passage.

Here, however, we are obliged to say, Fanaticism asserts, not for the only time, what is diametrically at variance with the facts of the case. At the end of his pamphlet Mr. Gladstone gives a list of what he calls the principal replies to his first pamphlet, and declares that he has "read the whole of them with care." In the list we find—not indeed all the articles which have appeared in this Review on the subject—but some of them, and among them the first article of our issue of January, 1875, in which, at p. 6, Mr. Gladstone has, it would seem, "read with care" a long note in which the "qualifying

<sup>9</sup> Canon Neville, whose *Few Comments on Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation*—which the last-named writer has had plenty of time to notice in the later editions of his *Vaticanism* if he had been so minded—after going through all the eighteen propositions which are cited from the Syllabus by Mr. Gladstone as representing "the drift of the whole," remarks that "there is not a single proposition of them, if we except perhaps, the seventh, which is given by Mr. Gladstone as it was condemned by the Pope." And he adds the following significant remark: "This may be the result of ignorance, for in all theological matters his ignorance is profound—wondrous—in a man of his position and his pretensions. But the omissions and the additions and the mistranslations are all so dexterously fitted in to the support of the theory he undertook to defend, that I will as soon believe that the world, in its order and correspondence of parts came out of a fortuitous combination of atoms, as that Mr. Gladstone's perversion of the propositions of the Syllabus came *all* out of ignorance" (p. 50). Perhaps Canon Neville will agree with us, that the most charitable hypothesis is to suppose that the hand of Mr. Gladstone is simply the tool of the spirit of Fanaticism, and that he is not his own master.

passage" is expressly noticed and dealt with; and we have little doubt but that if others also of his critics have not spoken of it, it has been because so many of them have naturally wished to confine themselves to those parts of his first pamphlet where there was to be found less of passion and more of at least the appearance of reason and argument.

It is now time to enter upon our task of the examination of the defence now made on the part of Fanaticism of the string of misrepresentations of which it has been accused. And here we are met by a fact which shows the very great moderation with which the controversy seems to us to have been conducted on the Catholic side. The critics who have answered Mr. Gladstone have not been at all as careful as they might have been to expose mercilessly all his blunders. We have quoted in former articles the strong general condemnation which has been passed on his misrepresentations of the propositions of the Syllabus by such men as Dr. Newman, Bishop Ullathorne, and Bishop Vaughan: men whose authority is not to be waived aside airily, as Mr. Gladstone attempts to do, by saying that they have not descended to particulars. They are not men whose characters allow them to do what Mr. Gladstone has done in scores of instances in the two pamphlets of which we are speaking—that is, make a general proposition damnatory of other persons without the slightest ground. But if Fanaticism likes, it may have the consolation that but too little pains have been taken to expose its misrepresentations in detail. Our own articles have furnished most of the instances in which blunders have been specified, though we cannot allow the correctness of the statement that Mr. Gladstone has answered even the few charges that have been made against him.<sup>10</sup> Few as these charges are, they are over and above sufficient to destroy the character of the representation of the Syllabus at which they are aimed, and as we shall proceed to show, in no one case have they been fairly met. Moreover, if more were needed, the need has been abundantly supplied by a publication to which we have already referred, and which has the only fault of having appeared late in the controversy. Canon Neville has been at the pains to go through each one of the eighteen cases in

<sup>10</sup> Some few are also taken from the note appended to Father Coleridge's Sermon, *The Abomination of Desolation*, which touched the question raised by Mr. Gladstone altogether incidentally.

which the pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees* professed to represent the Syllabus, and has not only confirmed earlier writers on the Catholic side as to their almost universal inaccuracy, but has given chapter and verse in each case to prove his point. We believe we may say that Fanaticism will prudently hold its tongue, and not risk the attempt to answer Canon Neville. But if it does make the attempt, it is quite certain what the result will be. If Fanaticism had misrepresented eight hundred propositions instead of eighteen, and had been convicted in each case of having said that black was white, it would still assert that it was right, and that its critics were wrong. For Fanaticism does not argue—it only asserts and storms and glares and gesticulates.

We may take first a case which the representation made in his pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees* has been convicted of the most plain and undeniable mistranslation of simple Latin words—a mistranslation so plain and undeniable as to be evident to any schoolboy, who might perhaps not fare well at the hands of his master if he were to venture to equal it in his rendering of any Latin author. In the first instance, *habemus confidentem reum*. The mouthpiece of Fanaticism, referring to his own statement "that the Pope condemns liberty of the press and liberty of speech," adds, "By reference to the original it is shown that the right of printing and speaking is not in terms condemned universally, but only the right of man to print or speak all his thoughts (*suos conceptus quoscumque*), whatever they may be. Hereupon it is justly observed that in all countries there are laws against blasphemy, obscenity, or sedition, or all three. It is argued then, that men are not allowed the right to speak and print all their thoughts, and that such an extreme right only is what the Pope has condemned."<sup>11</sup>

We must begin by the obvious remark that the version—"The Pope condemns liberty of the Press," and the rest, as representing Mr. Gladstone's version of the propositions in question, is glaringly unfair, and at the same time singularly convenient. Dr. Newman has pointed out, what not even Fanaticism will deny, that his statement was "that the Pope has condemned those who maintain *the* liberty of the Press, *the* liberty of conscience and worship, and *the* liberty of speech." But it is, as we said, singularly convenient to omit the definite

<sup>11</sup> P. 21.

article in question, and we take this omission as as much an acknowledgement of error as can be looked for in the case before us. However, some profession must be made by way of defence, and as we are told that to insist on the Pope's words is "mere trifling with the subject," that what the Pope intended to condemn, "if his words be taken in their natural sense, was a state of things which never has existed in any country of the world, whereas he says that he is condemning one of the commonly prevailing errors of the time, familiarly known to the bishops whom he addresses." We are asked, "What bishop knows of a State which by law allows a perfectly free course to blasphemy, filthiness, and sedition?" And again, it is deliberately asserted "that the law of England at this moment, allowing all opinions whatever, provided they are treated by way of rational discourse, most closely corresponds to what the Pope has condemned."<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to disengage and present one by one the mass of false and groundless assertions here made in defence of a plain perversion of the meaning of plain words. What the Pope condemns is not a state of things, but an erroneous opinion; it is not anything that has been allowed by a State, but what not a few dare to *teach*, and what Gregory the Sixteenth calls a *deliramentum*, and the laws of England will closely correspond to what the Pope condemns when they allow every citizen to possess an inherent right of publishing any blasphemy, filthiness, or sedition whatsoever without any restraint from ecclesiastical or civil authority. It is difficult to discover any method of justifying this fresh perversion of the Pope's words which limit them to a condemnation of what a "State by law allows"—a limitation entirely contradicted by the whole context—except by a reference to the hard necessity which sometimes lies upon the victim of Fanaticism.

—He must be, as he says it is claimed for the Pope to be, "supreme over the laws of language." There the words are, as has been said, for any schoolboy to construe; but to construe them according to their natural sense will never do for Fanaticism. We may add, that to deny the reality of the existence of the evil against which the words are directed is only a proof of Mr. Gladstone's insular ignorance of the enormities which have been maintained by foreign "Liberals" of various schools. There was, and is, a perfectly good and

<sup>12</sup> P. 22.



solid foundation of fact for the statement made by the Pope, that the Catholic bishops are well aware that such errors are openly taught.

We may now pass on to another instance, which contrasts curiously with that of which we have just been speaking. In the former case, Fanaticism overrode the plain meaning of words; in this, it becomes a stickler for a pedantic accuracy as to that of a single word. Mr. Gladstone has been accused of interpolation, because he has translated the word "*jura*," as applied to the Church, by the two words, "*civil rights*." He replies, "*Jus* means, not right at large, but a specific form of right, and in this case civil right, to which meaning, indeed, the word constantly leans. It refers to right which is social, relative, extrinsic." And he quotes Cicero, whose words refer to human right, and Dens, who in a treatise, *De Jure et justitia*, naturally defines *jus* as to be taken *potissimum de jure prout est in altero*. We must confess that with the present pamphlet before us, we think it was a mistake to call the misrepresentation in question a "simple interpolation." It seems now to have been an interpolation made with a definite purpose, that of conveying a false doctrine as well as a false version of words. But an interpolation it certainly is, such as nothing but Fanaticism could either make or defend. In the first place, we may consider the words as they would strike an ordinary reader, apart from the context in the proposition from which they have been extracted. All scholars would allow that *jus* is a word of general meaning, and that whatever may be its most technical and original sense, it is so much used for right of all kinds, that a specific adjective is required if it is to be limited to a particular kind of right. That is, unless there is the word "*civile*," or something equivalent to it, in the context, it is an interpolation to render the word *jus*, by "*civil right*." Again, in the Syllabus itself, the word is constantly used in this general way, and whenever there is a specific kind of right mentioned, the adjunct, *civile*, *naturale* and the like, are added. This is enough to show the justice of the criticism on Mr. Gladstone's interpolation. But it may be said that perhaps he means to assert that in this particular proposition it is the civil right which is mentioned. If so, why does he not say so?—it would be a proof that at least he had referred for once to his *Recueil des Allocutions*, &c. But it is not so. The proposition condemned is—

Those are condemned who assert that the Church is not a real, perfect, and independent community, and that she was not furnished by her Divine Founder with permanent rights of her own, but that it belongs to the civil power to define the rights of the Church and the limits of the exercise of these rights (Translation taken from Canon Neville, p. 34).

Here, then, the rights spoken of are proper to the Church, and abide in her permanently. They are conferred by her Divine Founder, and they are such that the civil power has no right to define them and the limits of their exercise. We wonder how many of Mr. Gladstone's readers had any idea that there were rights of this kind, of which he spoke as "civil rights"! And lastly, in order that there may be no doubt as to the errors at which the condemnation is actually aimed, it will be enough to add a few words from the context in which they occur in the Allocution of June 9, 1862. After the words which have been embodied in the condemnation, the Pope goes on—

Hence they perversely pretend that the civil power may mix itself up with things that belong to *religion, morals, and the spiritual rule* (regimen).

And in another Allocution, December 9, 1864, also referred to in the Syllabus on this proposition, he speaks of the civil power attempting to direct the discipline of the Church, rule sacred ministers, lay hold of the management of sacred things, in a word, to confine the Church within the limits of the State and lord it over her.

These, then, are the "civil rights" which the spokesman of Fanaticism has invented. We may add, in explanation of what has been said above, that we see many traces in the pamphlet before us that he seems to have lately adopted the tenets of Prince Bismarck as to the "right" of the State to rule the Church, and he would probably take the view on which the German Chancellor has lately been acting, which would reduce the Church to be a simple department of the State Government. In this sense, perhaps, the right to teach the nations, administer the Sacraments, preach the word of God, the right of practising the Evangelical counsels in the religious life, and a thousand more, would be classed by this writer under the head of "civil" rights. He would probably deny that the Church had a right to protect by her spiritual power her own property, or the property of religious orders, inasmuch as when

he is driven to find instances of the interference of the Popes with the rights of the Civil Power in the last two hundred years, he quotes a series of Allocutions in which various measures of spoliation are denounced and declared null and void. That is, the Pope declares that laws which are made in defiance of justice and the rights of the Church are not binding in conscience. Mr. Gladstone has a right to his own views on these matters, certainly, but we are now dealing with a question of honesty of interpretation. Nothing can be clearer than that what the Pope meant to condemn in the case now before us was the doctrine which included directly spiritual functions of the Church within the limits of State control. In using the word *jura* to signify the right to discharge these spiritual functions, he used it in its common sense, and, as we have seen, where reference is made to the context, that common sense is confirmed to the exclusion of all others.

Fanaticism is a hard task-master; and we may well imagine that in his calmer moments Mr. Gladstone must be conscious of the fact. His defence under the next two heads (7 and 8<sup>13</sup>) must have cost him something. The mistranslations and misinterpretations of which he has been guilty are too plain to be denied, but not too plain for the ingenuity of Fanaticism to suggest an evasion. The first head (17), which he takes out of its order, is that in which he has represented the Syllabus as condemning the free exercise of other religions than the Catholic in Catholic countries. Here our readers will remember that a twofold complaint has been made. It has been said that he ought to have stated that the condemnation referred to the toleration of the worship of strangers (immigrants), and, moreover, not to the free exercise of religion, but to the public exercise. As to the last point, even Fanaticism is beaten. It is impossible to justify the change of the word "free" for the word "public." So here there is a discreet "flash of silence." As to the omission of the "immigrants," however, the writer is equal to the occasion. "I omitted them, because my case was strong enough without them!" "The claim to a free (public!) exercise of religion on behalf of immigrants or foreigners, is a stronger one than on behalf of natives." This we entirely deny. Countries in which there was a considerable body of native Protestants would be no longer Catholic, and their laws would be based on the mixture of religions. In the

<sup>13</sup> The numbering is wrong; it ought to be 8 and 17.

countries spoken of, as Dr. Newman has pointed out, there are no native "dissidents," and the question related entirely to the amount of toleration to be given to the *public* worship of foreigners. We can only admire the ingenuity of the defence, observing by the way, that the defender has now avowed that he was making out a case, *not* representing the general drift of the *whole* Syllabus that his readers might judge for themselves.

Again, as to the eighth head, it has been naturally remarked that the words "power, not inherent in the office of the Episcopate but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority"—words which seem almost a truism, to condemn which, therefore, is an exorbitant act of authority, while to accuse the Pope of condemning this same truism is to be guilty of a proportionately grave misrepresentation if the accusation be false—are not by any means a correct version of what the Pope has really said on the matter in question. The Pope has condemned this proposition, taken from the writings of Nuytz, that "there is another temporal power not inherent in the office of the Episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, which on that account may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority." In order to understand what in the context the power spoken of is, we must refer to the pages of the author condemned, and Canon Neville informs us that "the power spoken of is the power of the Church over the Sacrament of Matrimony." Fanaticism itself considers that it let the Pope off easily, and took the mildest possible view of the proposition, when it left out the first part on which the second depended, and made the Syllabus only talk what would appear to most people nonsense. We must confess we would rather in any case have a good English version of the words that we are to judge of, and that we have no confidence at all in the mild and softening representations of this amiable antagonist.

In this case the softening process has violated the laws of language and common sense. The two propositions on which the condemnation falls are not independent of one another, but connected into one by the particular *proinde*—"on that account." To leave out the first is to misrepresent the second. We are tempted to suggest a parallel case. Mr. Gladstone was at one time suspected of Catholic leanings, and has certainly of late done his best to get rid of the suspicion. Let us

suppose that some ultra-Protestant journal, in the days, let us say, of the Irish Church debates, had circulated the following statement: "Besides his own ample fortune, Mr. Gladstone enjoys a considerable income allowed him by the Papal Exchequer, which therefore (*proinde*) can be withdrawn at the Pope's discretion." We may imagine that Mr. Gladstone would at once write to the editor to deny the fact, or perhaps he might move in the Court of Queen's Bench for a criminal information. Would he be satisfied if his "condemnation" of the original statement was thus represented by the paper in question: "Mr. Gladstone desires us to deny peremptorily the assertion that the considerable income which is allowed him by the Papal Exchequer can be withdrawn at the discretion of the Pope?" If he did, he would acquiesce in a version exactly as true and exactly as false as that which he has given—and defended—of the proposition of the Syllabus of which we are speaking. To our minds, the great wonder is, not that he should have made the original misrepresentation, but that he should now defend it. Ignorance can account for the first—only fanaticism for the second.

We now come to a head on which Fanaticism has bestowed considerable pains: the defence of the misrepresentation of what have been called the "matrimonial propositions" which have been cited from the Syllabus. The pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees* gave two such propositions: (13) That marriage is not in its essence a sacrament; (14) and that marriage not sacramentally contracted (*si sacramentum excludatur*) has a binding force. The true rendering of these propositions is as follows: (1) "The Sacrament of Marriage is nothing but what is accessory to the contract and separable therefrom, and the sacrament itself lies in the nuptial benediction alone."<sup>14</sup> (2) "By virtue of a merely civil contract true marriage can exist between Christians, and it is false either that the contract of marriage between Christians is always a sacrament, or that there is no contract if the sacrament be excluded."<sup>15</sup>

It is obvious at first sight that the rendering given in the pamphlet of the first of these two propositions is directly calculated to disturb the peace of the country, by leading the reader to infer that Catholics who follow the teaching of the Syllabus must deny the validity of English marriages, inasmuch as Englishmen in general do not hold that marriage

<sup>14</sup> Proposition lxvi.<sup>15</sup> Proposition lxxiii.

is a sacrament, and that this inference would be confirmed by the false rendering of the second proposition, in which the Pope is made to assert that marriages "not sacramentally contracted" are not binding. A more mischievous misrepresentation can hardly be imagined, and we cannot be surprized if more than one Catholic writer has commented severely upon its mischievousness in the first instance. But the version of Mr. Gladstone was not only socially mischievous—whether he meant it so to be or not we are not able to say—but Fanaticism does not see much harm in setting families and neighbourhoods by the ears. The version is radically wrong, and can only be accounted for, in charity, by the supposition of the grossest ignorance. We shall endeavour to set the truth before our readers in as few words as possible. And in doing this, we shall first of all speak of the propositions in themselves, and then of the effect of their misrepresentation on English society and its peace.

In themselves the propositions mean nothing more than to vindicate a truth which was once very dear to Mr. Gladstone—the truth of the sanctity of marriage. One of the best periods of his long Parliamentary career was that of the summer of 1857, when, after some months of silence in Parliament, he fought with great perseverance against an overwhelming majority which forced through the House of Commons that great disgrace to English morality—the Divorce Bill. We presume, therefore, that in 1857 he held the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage, as earlier in his life he held the divine authority of the Church and her independence of the State. The latter truth he seems now clearly to have abandoned; the former truth is what is vindicated by the Pope in the propositions which are here misrepresented. The doctrine which underlies the condemnation is simply this, that marriage is a sacrament, that is, a holy rite which confers grace; that, like other sacraments, it requires on the part of those who administer it the intention to do so; that if they have a deliberate intention not to do so, and so to exclude it, it is not conferred, and that the parties themselves are those who administer this sacrament, which depends, therefore, on their intention, not on the nuptial benediction. The marriage contract is instituted by God: the State has nothing to do with it, except to secure and protect it by law. The "civil contract" is "a mere contract between man and woman, made under State regulations and determinable by State authority."<sup>16</sup> If a

<sup>16</sup> Canon Neville, p. 45.



Christian man and a Christian woman choose to enter into an agreement to live together as man and wife by virtue of a civil contract, excluding in their doing so the intention of administering, or receiving, or having anything to do with the Sacrament of Marriage, that contract, has all the force that the State can give to it, and no more. The State usually exercises whatever power it possesses in freeing its subjects from such inconvenient obligations, and in giving all legal facilities to divorce ; but if it were to try, it has no power to make such contracts indissoluble in the domain of conscience, over which it has no control ; it has no power to create that bond of which our Lord said, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." Therefore, a merely civil contract between Christians who deliberately refuse to bind themselves by the tie of the Christian sacrament, is in itself dissoluble, and, however much it may be legalized by the State, is in its own nature, and by the choice and intention of the parties, a mere "concubinage." The indissoluble contract of marriage cannot for Christians be separated from the sacrament, and those who intend not to bind themselves by it, are not so bound. The law may treat their contract as a marriage, and legitimize their children ; but in the sight of God they are not married, as they never intended to be. They prefer a merely civil contract, and they have it. It would, in truth, be the most abject superstition to suppose that the sacramental tie could exist where it was deliberately intended that it should not exist.

There is nothing in this doctrine which is not easily intelligible, and that is enough for our purpose. It would be altogether out of place here to draw out the arguments by which the doctrine itself is theologically established. When we turn to the pages of the new pamphlet, we find no defence at all of the mistranslation of the two propositions, but a great deal about English marriages, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and their application to Protestant marriages. It is more convenient for Fanaticism to raise such questions than to defend its own statements ; but, as we have said, the importance of the question in a social view is enough to have justified the criticism which first directed attention to the point of English marriages, and it is to that point that we shall for the present confine ourselves. As to what Mr. Gladstone has added, we say that the whole question of the conduct of the Church with regard either to civil marriage or to the marriages of heretics in Catholic countries is far too large to be treated

here, and we shall only add that we are convinced that, when that conduct is fairly examined, it will furnish one of the most beautiful proofs of her faithfulness to her high commission for the benefit of Christian society, no greater mischief to which can possibly be imagined than the reduction of marriage to that level to which it has always sunk when its sacred character has not been upheld.

"It is true," says Fanaticism, "that the two hundred thousand non-Roman marriages which are annually celebrated in England do not at present fall under the foul epithets of Rome." Fanaticism is very complimentary and moderate in its language, but this truth, which is here so calmly enunciated, is just the reverse of what any ordinary English reader would have concluded from the misrepresentations of the former pamphlet, which are still unwithdrawn. Fanaticism goes on, "But why? Not because we marry, as I believe nineteen-twentieths of us marry, under the sanction of religion: for our marriages are, in the eyes of the Pope, purely civil marriages, but only for the technical, accidental, and precarious reason that the disciplinary decrees of Trent are not canonically in force in this country." We shall now take the liberty of using, no "foul epithets" indeed, but plain language as to this statement of Fanaticism. It is false, groundless, absurd, and injurious. It is false, because, as can be proved both by theory and by the constant practice of the Church when the validity of English marriages has to be acted upon, as in the case of converts, living in marriage, or of converts who have to be ordained, the Church considers English marriages as valid now as English marriages in Catholic times, as valid as Catholic marriages in England or anywhere else. It is groundless, as may be seen by a reference to what we have already stated as to the doctrine on marriage, which underlies the condemnation of the Syllabus of which we are speaking: for English people, as a rule, are baptized; as a rule they intend, in contracting marriage, to contract that sacred union which God and our Lord instituted, and that intention is enough. It is equivalent to the intention of a person who administers baptism—though he may not have an adequate faith as to the efficacy of baptism—intending to do what the Church does. Again, the assertion of which we speak is absurd, for the Church could never hold "purely civil" marriages as valid, for "purely civil" marriages have no more binding force than any other purely civil contract, a force which comes from

the State and not from God. The decrees of Trent are not wanted to invalidate a contract excluding the sacrament. It is injurious, because it misrepresents Catholic doctrine on so tender a point as that of marriage to a religious-minded people. The truth is, that English marriages rest on the same grounds, in the eye of the Church, as English baptisms.

And now we may release our readers from this long examination of the defence made on the part of Fanaticism of its own misrepresentations, after one more instance. The last point defended is n. 18. The Syllabus, according to Mr. Gladstone, condemns the proposition, that the Pope ought to come to terms with "progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." A very few words are enough to dispatch this part of the defence. It has been conclusively shown that the words of the propositions condemned in the Syllabus are taken from the anti-Catholic authors who have used them: and it follows from this that the condemnations could not include a protest against the misapplication of these words. Thus, for instance, Dr. Newman has remarked<sup>17</sup> that when the Lima priest whose words are condemned in Mr. Gladstone's sixth proposition speaks of the rights of princes, the condemnation falls on those rights in his sense of the term: and that when Nuytz is condemned for denying to the Church the power to employ force, what is meant is that what *he* calls employing force is allowed to the Church. This general principle is too plain to be denied even by Fanaticism; but it takes care to pass it over with a wise silence. As to the particular case before us, it has been proved by direct quotations from the Papal Allocution referred to in the Syllabus on this proposition that the condemnation falls on progress, and the rest, in the sense of the Italian Revolution, "They demand," says the Pope, "that the Roman Pontiff should reconcile himself and come to terms with *what they call* progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization." These words are quoted by Bishop Ullathorne, and the reference is given.<sup>18</sup> Now let us hear this champion of Fanaticism—quite equal to the occasion. "It is *boldly* stated that the Pope condemns not these"—that is progress, liberalism, and modern civilization—"but only what is bad in them. And thus it is, that to avert public displeasure, *words are put into the Pope's mouth which he has not used.*" He could hardly give the lie more directly to the Catholic Bishop: and we need hardly say that the

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 88, 89.

<sup>18</sup> *Expostulation Unravelled*, p. 79.

*Recueil des Allocutions*, which the writer before us has had at hand as he wrote, confirms the Bishop and flatly contradicts Fanaticism.

It would be very easy to extend this criticism almost to any length. The manner in which the new pamphlet deals with the writers who have appeared on the Catholic side, is no better and no fairer than its method in defending the misrepresentations which had been poured out in the former pamphlet. We can only find space for one prominent instance of this unfairness. The writer before us<sup>19</sup> states that "Bishop Clifford and Dr. Newman are entirely at issue with the Pope respecting the deposing power;" and he asks, "Will they not have to reconsider what they say, and what they are to believe?" Now, we observe, in the first place, generally, that this Fanatical author is far too fond, when he cannot meet a Catholic writer without difficulty on other grounds, of making insinuations which are very fair specimens indeed of a practice which Dr. Newman once described as "poisoning the wells"—an unfair and barbarous method of warfare, which Mr. Gladstone in one of his early speeches was accused of justifying in the Chinese. The accusation was false; but here we have him using methods of controversy which may fairly be said to be rather Oriental than European, rather barbarous than Christian. For example we may refer to one of the worst passages in this new pamphlet, where, having quoted Dr. Newman's remark that Infallibility is not inspiration, he says that, "We have this assurance on the strength only of his own private judgment; secondly, that if bidden by the self-assertion of the Pope he will be required by his own principles to retract it, and to assert, if occasion should arise, the contrary; thirdly, that he lives under a system of development, through which somebody's private opinion of to-day may become matter of fact for all the morrows of the future."<sup>20</sup> We feel tempted to say that we hope Dr. Newman will take no further notice of a writer who indulges in language of this kind. Controversy has its range, which is limited, like that of law, and it requires on each side a treatment of the other on the basis of a respectful conviction that words mean what they convey, and that good faith is kept in argument. The whole passage is simply as much a bit of abuse as if a Catholic writer were to say that Mr. Gladstone is a politician, and not worth arguing with, for such people assert

<sup>19</sup> P. 23.<sup>20</sup> P. 102.

whatever is convenient, change their principles as often as their shirts, equivocate habitually, and support to-day what yesterday they denounced. Now as to the alleged issue between Bishop Clifford and Dr. Newman on the one hand, and the Pope on the other, we suppose the matter may be put thus: that whereas the doctrine as to the deposing power of the Popes, if stated as a whole, comes to this, that such a power was always, if we may so speak, seminally inherent in the prerogatives of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, yet it never has been or can be exercised except under certain conditions, the chief of which may be the "consent of Christendom, recognizing in the Pope the supreme arbiter of nations, or as it might be put by others, the supreme judge as to when princes have so sinned against their duty as to be no longer entitled to their thrones. This being, we say, the doctrine as a whole, the two parts of which are perfectly consistent with each other, Dr. Newman and Bishop Clifford have spoken of the second half, and the Pope of the first also. Any one accustomed to reason calmly will solve the issue which the imagination of Fanaticism has created. Dr. Newman has distinctly stated that he believes the Pope to possess this power or right, and Bishop Clifford's language is identical in meaning, for he speaks of the Christian nations as "reverencing in the Pope their supreme judge," not as conferring upon him the power. Nevertheless, the writer before us is not afraid to say that to Bishop Clifford the deposing power was "simply a case like that of the Geneva arbitrators." Where did he get that little word "simply"? If a French writer were to say that Henry the Fifth would exercise the right of making war or peace for France whenever the French nation recognized in him their sovereign, it would not by any means follow that he did not believe that Henry the Fifth had an hereditary and inalienable right to act as king. In such an hypothesis the words which we have put into his mouth would be plain common sense.

But now we have already far exceeded our limits, and we must for the present leave the unpleasant task of dealing with a pamphlet which, with many passages of undoubted ability, seems to us to lower its writer as a controversialist almost to the same level as that of the author of the *Quarterly* article on the *Discorsi di Pio Nono*. Everywhere there is peremptory assertion instead of argument, and an attempt is often made to set Catholic authorities against one another, we need hardly

say without success. A long list might be made of *ex cathedra* statements as to history, or even theology, for which no sort of reason is alleged, and no authority given but the *ipse dixit* of the writer. Here is a specimen, giving in a few words a general view of mediæval history.

The general truth of the matter is, that the Popes of the middle ages, like some other persons and professions, throve upon the discords of their neighbours. Other powers were only somewhere : the Pope, in the West, was everywhere. Of two parties in a quarrel it is worth the while of each to bid for the assistance of the Pope against his enemy, and he that bid the highest, not merely in dry acknowledgments of the Papal prerogatives, but also commonly in the solid tribute of Peter's Pence, or patronage, or other tangible advantages, most commonly got the support of the Pope. This is a brief and rude outline, but it is history, and the other is fiction (p. 72).

This passage might be paralleled by a score of others, equally dogmatic, equally sweeping, equally free in insinuation of bad motives of every sort, and equally false. Certainly the principle of looking at the painted window from the outside is not allowed to remain a "rusty tool" in Mr. Gladstone's repertory. But Mr. Gladstone himself, on any other subject, would be the first to measure his own manner of dealing with Catholic questions at its due value. He has had much experience of one of the first deliberative assemblies in the world, and he knows what measure would there be dealt out to a man who lays down the law on subjects which he has never studied, who narrows his whole view of a great and complicated matter to one particular point, which he exaggerates and distorts till he can think and speak of nothing else, who never allows himself to be wrong or even fallible, and who returns the courtesies of opponents by misrepresenting them. Such, we venture to tell him in parting, will certainly be his fate as to this matter of the Pontifical claims. He is as mad about them as other persons are mad about the Confessional, about the Conventual system, about the honour paid to our Lady, or about the doctrine of Indulgences. He sees in the system of the Catholic Church, one thing, and one thing alone ; and it is no wonder that he distorts it and exaggerates it and makes a bugbear of it till it drives him fairly crazy, and makes him foam at the mouth.

We need hardly add that it will not be by any amount of argument that he can be delivered from his present fanaticism. But we still hope that the day may come when he may be



able to listen to reason, perhaps to reason for himself on these great subjects. He will then, perhaps, understand that if it has pleased God to put His Church in the world for the salvation of mankind, it is not incredible that He should have endowed her with great prerogatives, and guarded her from their abuse by a mighty and continual protection. It will then perhaps seem to him no more impossible that the gift of Infallibility should have been lodged with the Successors of St. Peter, than that that gift itself should have been given at all. He may then come to understand how Catholics feel as much confidence in the Providence which watches over the Holy See as they do in the Providence which rules the course of the world, and that to them it seems as unreasonable to suppose that God could so far forsake His Church as to hand her over, as Mr. Gladstone supposes her to be handed over, to the blind caprice and arbitrary will of a single man, as it is to suppose that He will let the harmony of nature be disturbed, and the mighty forces, by the balance of which the whole universe is carried on, be let loose upon one another in internecine conflict. The view given by Mr. Gladstone of the history of Christendom is enough to drive any reasonable person into a disbelief in Providence. Like most fanaticisms, it gives a man excellent reasons for believing a great many very bad things of God and our Lord. The "gates of hell" would certainly have prevailed against the Church if she were in the plight which Mr. Gladstone's view of history represents. It would be easier to believe Mahometanism or Buddhism than this writer's view of Church history. If he once begins to think that God must have managed the world a little better than he supposes, he will have made a first step in the direction of truth and peace.

## *The Moral Theologian of the "Quarterly Review."*

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### PART II.—MENTAL RESERVATION, PURE AND "LATENT."

IN our last number we discussed one of what the Quarterly Reviewer calls the cardinal propositions on which the popular charges against the moral teaching of the Jesuits rest, that namely which asserts that the end justifies the means. We showed that this maxim may admit of two interpretations: one that where the end is legitimate, the use of means necessary to such end is legitimate, provided that the means involve no sin in themselves; the other that provided a good end is intended, all means whatsoever whether good or bad may be used, for in fact the goodness of the end imparts goodness to the means, whatever their moral complexion may be considered in themselves. The first meaning is the true one, and that accepted by theologians; the second is false, and repudiated not only by every Catholic theologian but by every honest man. How far the Reviewer himself may have adopted this second signification of the maxim in his own literary practice we leave it to the appreciation of our readers to determine. This much, however, we may say is certain, and for the truth of our assertion we appeal as well to what we set before our readers in our last number, as to what we shall advance in our present paper, that the Reviewer in carrying out the end proposed to himself, of fastening on the Catholic Church a system of absurd and immoral doctrines, an end not justifiable in itself without the gravest and most convincing proofs, has not shrunk from the use of means that if consciously employed would at once brand him with immoral indifference to the character of those means themselves. In his attempts at proof we convicted him of mistranslation, of garbling, and of misrepresentation; and such means will commend themselves to no honest mind as legitimate and justifiable sources of demonstration, even though made use of in support of the loftiest ideal theories of moral purity with which the modern world is dazzled or bewildered, and with which for the most part its practice so painfully contrasts.

We now turn to the Reviewer's second cardinal proposition, that which concerns Mental Reservation. The Reviewer opens fire on this "second capital count in the popular indictment against Jesuit principles" by a quotation from the *Provinciales*. Of course the *Provinciales* contribute greatly to the Reviewer's article in this and in other matters where their inspiration is not openly acknow-

ledged. This is only what was to be expected in the treatment of any subject where Jesuits are concerned; it will not be out of place therefore, before proceeding to the Reviewer's mob of objections, to put once more on record the estimate of these celebrated letters that has been from time to time formed by writers of various schools of French thought. Father de Ravignan, himself a Jesuit, though previously a brilliant member of the magistracy of France, thus expresses the result of his own investigation into the truth of the charges of Pascal, that had created prejudices against the Society in his own mind, and had weighed with him as a serious preliminary objection to which he was bound to seek a satisfactory reply before he could enrol himself in the Institute of Ignatius. He thus gives the conclusion that his inquiry brought home to his mind: "Pascal, your genius has led you into a great crime, that of establishing an alliance, perhaps imperishable, between falsehood and the language of the French people. You have fixed the vocabulary of calumny; it still rules supreme, but it shall not do so with me."<sup>1</sup> And others have appreciated the true place of the *Provincial Letters* in the world of literature, and what is more, their true effects upon Society at large. Pascal aimed at blasting the good name of the Jesuits; he succeeded to a great extent, but he succeeded in a great deal more that was quite beyond his wish or intention. He contributed by his satire to level the barriers that opposed the advancing tide of unbelief that was so soon to lay the stately fabric of the French Church, and the proud throne of the Bourbons in the dust. "It was a work," says Lemontey, speaking of the *Provincial Letters*, "that did more harm to religion than honour to the French language."<sup>2</sup> Lermnier says, "Pascal wrote the *Provincial Letters*, and the demon of irony was let loose against holy things. The Jesuits, as far as appearance goes, receive all the blows; but religion is smitten along with them. Pascal has prepared the way, and Voltaire is free to come."<sup>3</sup> After the fall of the Jesuits in 1762, D'Alembert writing to Voltaire, could estimate its effects, and the hand that Jansenism had had in the catastrophe. "By my faith," he says, "this is a very serious matter, and the Parliamentary Courts go to work with no light hand. They think that they are saving religion, but they are aiding reason without suspecting it. They are the hangmen of philosophy, whose sentence they execute without knowing it. . . . As regards myself, to whom all things appear at present *couleur de rose*, I see the Jansenists quietly dying next year, after having this year brought the Jesuits to a violent end, toleration established, the Protestants recalled, the priests married, confession abolished, and fanaticism crushed without any one being the wiser."<sup>4</sup> Such were to be the fruits of Pascal's work.

<sup>1</sup> *De l'Existence de l'Institut des Jésuites*, p. 36. Fifth Edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. de la Régence*, tom. i. p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15 Mai. 1842.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Voltaire, May 4, 1762.

The passage quoted by the Reviewer from the *Provincial Letters* stands as follows: "One of the most embarrassing things in the world," says the Jesuit, 'is to avoid telling a lie, especially when you want something to be believed that is false. Our system of equivocation is a great help in this matter. But do you know how to proceed where equivocal words cannot be found?' 'No, father.' I thought as much," said he, 'that is new; it is the doctrine of Mental Reservations.'" Whereupon the Reviewer, having made his quotation, falls straightway into the pitfall of his distinction between purely and latently Mental Reservations.

Now first of all with reference to the quotation itself, Pascal asserts in it what is not true, when he says that the doctrine of Mental Reservation was new, and an invention of the Jesuits. Escobar more especially is the reputed father of the doctrine, but he had no real claim to the parentage; for in maintaining it, he did but pass on the common doctrine of theologians, and he never taught the lawfulness of purely Mental Reservation.

But in order to the understanding of this question a few words of preliminary matter are necessary. We have first to inquire what is meant by truth, or speaking the truth? Or, again, in other words, what is meant by a lie? As Father Gury is the Reviewer's *bête noire* in this and other matters, we will take his definition of a lie—*Mendacium est locutio vel significatio contra mentem cum voluntate fallendi*. We may explain this definition thus: A lie is a speech or intimation contrary to the mind with the intention of deceiving, or it is a form of words of which the meaning is not in conformity with and does not express the thoughts of the mind of the speaker about any subject of which there may be question, and such form of words becomes a lie formally when uttered with the intention of deceiving others. Truth, then, as far as intercourse with our neighbour is concerned consists in the agreement of the words we utter with the thoughts of our mind on any given subject. A lie is the wilful departure from such agreement with a deceitful intention: these two conditions being requisite to constitute a lie in its formal character. For instance, when I say John is a good man, really believing and thinking him to be such, I speak the truth; but when I say, notwithstanding my well-grounded belief to the contrary, that John is a bad man, and am moved to such utterance by the desire to injure John's character by deceiving his employer, I tell a lie in the formal sense of the word. Now the whole of the present discussion hinges on the question whether in any possible conjuncture of circumstances, the departure from the conformity between word and thought which constitutes the truth of any utterance, can be considered lawful? And if in any case allowable, the further question arises as to the degree of such departure. May we legitimately under given possible circumstances utter words in direct contradiction with our thoughts, with what we know to be the facts of the case; or are we not bound by the very

nature of truth to maintain agreement of word and thought, though the agreement may be of such a kind as to be capable of misinterpretation? For example, John comes to our house with a gang of ruffians to murder James, who is lying concealed within, and asks us who know with absolute certainty what John's intention is, whether James is here, can we reply absolutely, No, he is not, in order to prevent the perpetration of crime and to save James' life? Or, in order to keep up conformity between word and thought, ought we to have recourse to some such device as this: we are standing near the door of our stables, and we answer, No, he is not here, meaning within the stables, though knowing well that John's question applies to the premises at large, and that he will therefore be deceived by our answer. This is a case of mental reservation in the wide or improper sense, for the words of the answer agree with the thought in our mind, and though John, not being able to see what is in our mind, interprets them according to his own meaning, and so is deceived; yet he might by a little reflection have detected the lurking equivocation, and pressed his question home by saying, I do not mean here in this stable, but is James concealed within your premises at all? In such a case, where similar questions may be pressed until further reservation becomes well-nigh impossible, what answer shall be finally given? Shall we give John to understand that we answer No, according to his own sense of the question? or shall we, by acknowledging his presence, leave James to his fate?

Now it is clear that cases like the above will arise in the various relations of life, in which there will be an apparent conflict between positive duties. There is on the one side the obligation to speak the truth; on the other, the claims of charity, or of public duty, or of self-preservation, which will be set aside and sacrificed in divers cases by speaking the truth. The existence of such difficulties is acknowledged on all hands, and they receive a practical solution by men of the world without much attempt at the construction of a scientific system of the moralities of speech. It is not too much to say that such solutions are too often guided by the rule of thumb alone. As far as statesmen are concerned this is notorious. Without committing themselves perhaps to the full to the acceptance of the famous dictum that language was given to conceal men's thoughts, or Sir Henry Wotton's description of an ambassador, as a good citizen sent to lie abroad for the good of his country; it is to be feared that modern statesmen are not troubled with many scruples about acting more or less freely on the spirit of those sayings. Even the proper and precise M. Guizot could say in a debate in the French Chambers: "I have a few preliminary remarks to offer. When an ambassador does me the honour to call on me and ask me questions, it is not to an interrogatory that I submit. I am in such a case bound to the truth, but I only reply so far as suits the interest of my country."<sup>5</sup> When we find M. Guizot thus falling back upon the principle of reserve in the conduct of international affairs, we are quite

<sup>5</sup> February 5, 1847.

prepared for a wide adoption of the same by one so little troubled with scruples of any kind as Lord Palmerston. The notorious "Affghanistan" Blue Book is a case in point, wherein despatches were either entirely suppressed or partly mutilated, and important matter thus withheld from the knowledge of Parliament by tampering with documents professedly prepared for its instruction and enlightenment. The defence of Lord Palmerston for such garblings and omissions was no doubt that advanced by M. Guizot for the economy of speech, the interests of the public service and the good of the country.<sup>6</sup>

Nay, even beyond the range of worldly politics we have had a recent avowal not only of the adoption of the principle of reserve, but even of mental reservation in what the Reviewer would call its most Jesuitical phase, by a somewhat prominent dignitary of the Anglican Church, in the region of theological discussion. The Dean of Chester felt called upon last autumn to busy himself with the Old Catholic Assembly at Bonn, and being of a loquacious turn made use of certain language that was objected to by some of his more matter-of-fact brethren. The Dean's ground of defence in his own words was as follows: "At Bonn it was our wisdom to keep many things in the background. We were reaching out our hands towards those who had been separated from us for centuries, if by any means, even by the temporary use of language admitting of various shades of meaning, we might come to a mutual understanding."<sup>7</sup> There is a delicacy and finish in the Dean's appreciation of his own performances at Bonn that would have rejoiced Pascal as manifesting the work of an adept in the art of mental reservation. The "temporary use of language admitting various shades of meaning," bespeaks a proficient at the least. Whether the Dean's reservations were "latently" mental we leave to the Reviewer to decide.

The above examples sufficiently show the nature of the difficult circumstances in which men will from time to time be placed in practical life, when they are called upon to decide between the claims of two apparently conflicting duties, and the various methods they naturally employ to escape from the difficulty, without perhaps troubling themselves to construct theories on the subject. And yet the two methods that we have given do in fact illustrate the two different principles that Catholic theologians have supplied for its solution. The first system is that of St. Thomas, in whose view a lie is always *malum in se*, intrinsically and absolutely evil.<sup>8</sup> Nothing, therefore, according to this teaching, can justify the use of utterances not in conformity with the contents of the mind. Under such a system, which be it remarked is distinguished by the strictest and most delicate and jealous care for the maintenance of truth, there is no other means of meeting difficulties like those we have been considering than recourse to equivocation and mental reservation in the wider acceptance of

<sup>6</sup> Fischel, *The English Constitution*. Shee's Translation, p. 480.

<sup>7</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 7, 1874.

<sup>8</sup> St. Thomas. 2. 2. q. 110. a. 3.



the term. If we are asked by a murderer whether his intended victim lies concealed in our house, which is the actual fact, unless we are prepared to sacrifice the life of another by the most rigid construction of St. Thomas' principle, we must fall back upon the Dean of Chester's different shades of meaning in the framing of our answer, for the protection of the man who has put his life into our keeping.

The other view is that intimated by Scotus,<sup>9</sup> who regards truth as a part of justice, and implies that in consequence critical circumstances may arise in which the obligation to truth loses its force; just as the law "Thou shall not kill" is suspended when the public good requires the execution of a criminal, or under the exigencies of self-defence. Thus, then, in the case above given, this view would sanction direct denial in reply to the murderer's question, because the law of truth, or of conformity of word with thought, does not hold in the face of the much greater evil that would result from the death of an innocent man, than from the apparent violation of the law.

Other theories have been constructed in support of the above conclusion. That for instance which distinguishes between communicable and incommunicable knowledge. The physician, the lawyer, the confessor has cognizance of the things, the knowledge of which he is by common consent not only allowed but bound to deny. Again with the same view, a lie has been defined to be "a speech contrary to the mind of the speaker, made to another from whom he has no right to conceal the truth." Cases where the right to conceal the truth would exist are similar to those which we have adduced above, or like those mentioned by Dr. Newman in the passage where he exhibits the agreement of many English writers of great authority with what we may call the Scotist view.

Great English authors, Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Paley, Johnson, men of very different schools of thought, distinctly say that under certain extraordinary circumstances it is allowable to tell a lie. Taylor says: "To tell a lie for charity, to save a man's life, the life of a friend, of a husband, of a prince, of a useful and a public person, hath not only been done at all times, but commended by great and wise and good men. Who would not save his father's life, at the charge of a harmless lie, from persecutors or tyrants?" Again, Milton says: "What man in his senses would deny that there are those whom we have the best grounds for considering that we ought to deceive—as boys, madmen, the sick, the intoxicated, enemies, men in error, thieves? I would ask, By which of the Commandments is a lie forbidden? You will say by the ninth? If then my lie does not injure my neighbour, certainly it is not forbidden by this Commandment." Paley says: "There are falsehoods which are not lies, that is, which are not criminal." Johnson: "The general rule is, that truth should never be violated; there must however be some exceptions. If, for instance, a murderer should ask you which way a man is gone."<sup>10</sup>

In putting these two views before our readers, while avowing our own preference for the latter, we had chiefly for our object the

<sup>9</sup> *Summa*. 2. 2. q. 110. 3, dist. 38.

<sup>10</sup> *History of my Religious Opinions*, p. 274. Cf. note q.

endeavour to place before them the nature of the circumstances under which the Catholic theologians who uphold the lawfulness of equivocation in the modern sense of the word, or of mental reservation, consider its application permissible; and having done this, we may ask them whether the principle is of such a nature as to merit the obloquy that has been cast upon it from the time of Pascal to our own. The system in fact has been excogitated out of the tenderest regard for the interests, and on the highest possible estimate of truth; whether its application to cases in the concrete has been always capable of justification is a matter of detail, which we shall deal with when we come to consider some of the Reviewer's examples. That Father Gury guards against misapplication, is most evident from the rules that he lays down with respect to the cases in which mental reservation is not lawful. He declares that equivocation in the wide sense, cannot be employed, without reason or with the sole intention to deceive; nor if the interrogator has a right to the truth; nor if any damage to one's neighbour should result from it, against the precept of charity; nor in the framing of contracts, where justice is concerned.<sup>11</sup>

We feel that we have laid ourselves open to the charge of tediousness by dwelling at such length upon a subject that has been worn well-nigh threadbare: our only apology is that for dense ignorance like that manifested by the *Quarterly* Reviewer, no amount of explanation can be sufficient. In any case we feel that we cannot conclude this branch of our subject better than with the words of the *Saturday* Reviewer, speaking of Father Morris' edition of Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot. "The Editor has given in addition a brief account of the remaining thirty-one years of Gerard's life, after which he proceeds to institute a deliberate defence of his veracity, and enters into the general question of equivocation and direct lying under certain difficult circumstances. This dissertation seems to us wholly superfluous. The whole question has been discussed with unequalled delicacy and refinement in Dr. Newman's *Apologia*, and the treatment it received from that master-hand is familiar to all who care anything at all about the subject."<sup>12</sup>

Let us now pass on to the disjointed mass of garbled extracts that the Reviewer heaps together under the head of Mental Reservations. After his novel and ingenious discovery of the distinction between purely and latently mental reservations, the Reviewer proceeds as follows—

"For grave reasons" it is "lawful at times to make use of *latent* reservations, as also of equivocal terms," it being quite essential, however, that the terms be such "as make it possible for the listener to understand a matter as it really is, and not as it may sound. In other words, it is a condition *sine quâ non* for this device to pass muster, that it should be carefully constructed out of terms into which a double meaning can possibly be imported."

<sup>11</sup> *Theol. Mor.* tom. i. p. 474.

<sup>12</sup> *Saturday Review*, April 20, 1872.

He then proceeds—

Consistently with this ruling, we learn that no oath need be binding of which it can be alleged that a sense of pressure conducted at the time to its having been sworn. Coercion may very fairly be taken as an extenuating circumstance for departure from an engagement; but it is startling to find it enunciated as a principle, in the standard handbook for the instruction of Roman Catholic youths in moral obligations, that an oath may be repudiated with perfect impunity, if only the person who has sworn pleads to having been influenced in his mind by some apprehension of possibly injurious consequences, unless he did so swear (p. 64).

We select the above passage because it gives a sample of the Reviewer's method of treatment throughout his article. There is in the first place a patching of things together that have no necessary connection. What bearing has the question of the obligation of an oath taken on compulsion with equivocation? The matter to be decided is the binding force of an act, not the interpretation of a form of words. Next there is gross and most unfair garbling and what we may call letting down of the force of words, so as to give the passage referred to a sense not at all intended, if not actually opposed to that of the original. Thus we here have it stated that an oath taken under a *sense of pressure* (the italics are ours) need not be binding. And again, that an oath may be repudiated with perfect impunity, if only the person who has sworn pleads to having been at the time influenced in his mind by *some apprehension* of *possibly* injurious consequences.

Now how does Gury put the case and solve it?<sup>13</sup> *An obliget juramentum promissorium metu gravi et injusto extortum?* Does a promissory oath bind that has been extorted under the pressure of weighty fear unjustly inflicted? Not, mark, under a *sense of pressure*, or of *some apprehension of possibly injurious circumstances*; but under fear caused by grave and unjust concussion. Gury replies thus: "This is a matter of controversy. The first and more common opinion is that it is binding, because although the simple contract would be void as far as natural law is concerned, yet it becomes binding in virtue of the oath that has been superadded; for an oath must be kept *ex religione*—by force of the virtue of religion—as often as this can be done without sin." In support of this view Gury quotes St. Alphonsus, adding that nevertheless the upholders of this opinion maintain with St. Alphonsus that a dispensation from such an oath may be legitimately sought; or that even if the terms of the oath have been complied with, the injured party may seek remedy at law, or, where all other means of obtaining his rights fail, indemnify himself by occult compensation.

"The second opinion, which seems to be sufficiently probable, denies the obligation of the oath, since an oath cannot confirm that which is null and void by the law of nature; for an oath follows the nature of the act." Our readers can now form a judgment of the Reviewer's trustworthiness. For ourselves, we do not hesitate to brand

<sup>13</sup> *Theol. Mor.* tom. i. p. 346. Romæ, 1866.

his treatment of the above question—and it is only one sample out of many—as a fraud upon the public, our hope being at the same time that by his utter incompetency to deal with the subject, he will be relieved from the penalties that would attach to conscious deliberation.

As a comment on the above solution of the difficulty by Gury, we give Paley's way of meeting the question. But first we will quote what he says as to the obligation of promissory oaths. He simply says, "Promissory oaths are *not binding*, where the promise itself would not be so."<sup>14</sup> Having laid down this principle, let us see how he deals with a promise extorted by fear or violence.

It has long been controverted amongst moralists, whether promises be binding which are extorted by violence or fear. The obligation of all promises results, we have seen, from the necessity or the use of that confidence which mankind repose in them. The question, therefore, whether these promises are binding, will depend upon this, whether mankind, upon the whole, are benefited by the confidence placed in such promises? A highwayman attacks you—and being disappointed of his booty, threatens or prepares to murder you;—you promise, with many solemn asseverations, that if he will spare your life, he shall find a purse of money left for him at a place appointed;—upon the faith of this promise, he forbears from further violence. Now, your life was saved by the confidence reposed in a promise extorted by fear; and the lives of many others may be saved by the same. This is a good consequence. On the other hand, a confidence in promises like these would greatly facilitate the perpetration of robberies: they might be made instruments of almost unlimited extortion. This is a bad consequence; and in the question between the importance of these opposite consequences, resides the doubt concerning the obligation of such promises.<sup>15</sup>

Paley then on his own utilitarian principles gives the same solution as Gury; that is, he gives the two different opinions entertained by moralists on the matter, and there leaves the question.

But let us proceed—

It is well [the Reviewer says], to follow out Gury's doctrine as to the force of solemnly contracted promises. In the section about Contracts we find this query: "If a donation has been promised on oath, but has not yet been delivered, is it still binding?" which is answered negatively on the ground that, as the deed is incomplete, it is void in substance, and consequently no oath in reference thereto can be held to have binding force.

We have already pointed out the blunder of the Reviewer with reference to the word "delivered;" the proper translation is, "accepted."<sup>16</sup>

Now what does Paley say about the obligation of promises *before acceptance*? That they are not binding, for they are only in that case to be regarded "as a resolution in the mind of the promiser, which may be altered at pleasure."<sup>17</sup> But he has already told us that oaths are not binding when the promise itself is not so; therefore in the present case Paley agrees with Gury in deciding that the oath is not binding.

The Reviewer goes on—

Father Gury—and he is in accord with the divines of his Order—has, however, more to say in limitation of the obligation following on oaths. He

<sup>14</sup> *Moral Philosophy*, bk. iii. pt. i. c. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, c. v.

<sup>16</sup> P. 65.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

lays it down, that according to more probable opinion, no oath is binding "if made with the intention indeed of swearing, but not of binding," though he admits that to go deliberately through the semblance of an oath without any intention to keep it, does involve "a venial sin amounting to a lie, with a taking in vain of God's name."

As usual the Reviewer here jumbles things up together that ought to be kept distinct. In the place referred to Gury treats of two separate questions; first he says that a fictitious promissory oath, uttered that is externally, without the intention of swearing, is not binding for want of the will to make it so. But he adds that a person thus simulating an oath sins, more probably venially only, *per se loquendo*, looking that is at the mere nature of the act itself, for the matter does not amount to more than a lie, to which the taking of God's name is added. But he proceeds to say, the sin may often become mortal, by reason of the private or public loss that may ensue. And Father Ballerini in a note cites a proposition condemned by Innocent the Eleventh to the effect, that "when cause is given, it is lawful to swear without the intention of swearing, whether in a trifling or in a weighty matter." Ballerini adds, that St. Alphonsus indeed agrees with Gury in the above solution about a fictitious oath, in saying that the offender sins venially only, but that he limits this opinion by saying that it is true only if the person fictitiously swearing, really has *the intention of fulfilling his promise*; for otherwise, the Saint says, *he would sin mortally*.

Gury then passes on to the consideration of another case, and states that the more probable opinion is that an oath taken with the intention indeed of swearing but not of binding oneself *ex religione*, that is to say, by the sanctions of the virtue of religion, is null and void; and that for the reason that such an act is nugatory, carries with it in fact its own nullification. To understand this we must bear in mind that theologians define an oath to be, *invocatio divini nominis in testimonium veritatis*; a calling upon the name of God, that is, in testimony of the truth of an utterance, or, we may add, in confirmation of a promise. An oath thus regarded they moreover consider to be an act that falls under the virtue of religion, or that virtue which corresponds to the prescriptions of the first table, to render due honour and worship to God. If then a man were to take an oath expressly excluding at the same time any obligation arising from this virtue of religion, he would simply be taking away from his act the essential character of an oath, and be pretending to do that which he was especially guarding himself against doing. His act from the very nature of the case would be a pretence and a nullity. And this is the reason why in our courts of law the oath of a man who does not believe in God is not accepted; for an oath involves the existence of God, and the recognition of Him in the very act of swearing, and thus carries along with it its own religious sanctions and binding force. But a man who does not believe in God practically puts it out of his power to enter into such relations with Him.

But Gury proceeds to say, an oath taken with the intention of swearing, but not of obliging oneself *ex iustitia aut ex fidelitate*, in

justice and good faith, is still a valid oath. Clearly, whatever may be said about obligations from other motives, such an oath is a religious act, and as such bears with it its own binding force.

We are perhaps trying the patience of our readers by entering into what they will think very subtle niceties, but we consider it absolutely necessary to do so in order thoroughly to expose the juggling method of treatment adopted by the Reviewer. With the cunning sleight of hand of the conjuror with his cups and balls, he changes and mixes up one subject with another till he throws what he professes to be treating of into an obscurity that utterly confuses the reader's mind, and renders it capable of only one conclusion, that there is evidently something in such doctrines profoundly bad and immoral, though he has no more notion of what those doctrines themselves are, nor in what their immorality consists, than most probably the Reviewer himself.

The Reviewer continues on his way—

To remove all doubt as to what is implied, this explanation is given: "The binding force of an oath has to be interpreted according to the tacit conditions either included or implied (*subintellectus*) therein; which are: (1) If I could have done so without grave injury; (2) if matters had not notably changed; (3) if the rights and will of the Superior were not contrary; (4) if the other had kept his faith; (5) if the other does not waive his right."<sup>13</sup>

The connection between this citation and what has gone before is not at all obvious. There has been question hitherto as to the existence of an oath under certain circumstances; and the Reviewer now passes on to discuss the obligations of an oath when it exists, which is quite another matter. Besides, he only drags in one portion of Gury's statements in relation to the determination of the extent to which this or that oath obliges, not his whole explanation on the subject. But let this pass. Then he proceeds—

Whatever may be said for several of these relieving conditions, the first virtually puts it within every one's power to repudiate his oath whenever he sees fit to allege that its observance would be accompanied by what *he himself thinks to be serious discomfort*; for here again, *no qualification* limits the faculty of the interested party to impart, of his own mere will, a justification to the action that may suggest itself as *pleasant for adoption*.

We have supplied the italics in the above passage for the purpose of asking our readers to compare the expressions thus emphasized with the first condition to which reference is made. *Si potuero sine gravi damno*, says Father Gury. If I could have done so without *grave injury*, says the Reviewer; and then straightway, in the face of his his own translation, tones down the words *grave injury*, involving in the mind of Father Gury the notion of heavy loss, (*gravi damno*) into *serious discomfort*, and then adds that it is left quite to the mere will of the person bound by oath to find out some such discomfort as may be a justification for breaking his oath, when the breaking of it may be *pleasant* to him rather than the keeping of it—a case, we fear, not unlikely to happen.

<sup>13</sup> Gury, i. p. 345.



We ask, not whether such tampering with and gross misinterpretation of technical words having a fixed and definite meaning in moral science be worthy of a scientific mind, but whether it be consistent with fairness and honesty? We are quite willing to leave this question to the judgment of our readers. Then the Reviewer asserts in his own involved and roundabout style that there is no check placed upon the interested party to hinder him from falling back upon fictitious motives for breaking his oath in any given case to his own advantage. No check except this—that Christian divines are writing for the guidance of Christian men; that both one and the other acknowledge an all-seeing God Who will one day judge them according to their words and works. And this is a check to which the Reviewer would do well to pay heed, for it is one that especially demands that in moral matters words should be used rigidly according to their recognized scientific meaning.

We will take one more example of the Reviewer's fraudulent method of dealing with Gury.

The prohibition against spiritual advisers interfering to make so-called penitents entertain a rigid sense of duty are elaborately explicit. Though he might have grounds to entertain "doubts as to the sincerity of the penitent," the confessor is yet simply to accept his statements. Even in the case of "having certain knowledge that a sin has been kept back or denied," the confessor is not to extract its admission unless in a roundabout manner, but he shall grant absolution because the penitent must be believed, whether speaking for or against himself; and "if he really did commit the sin in question, it may be presumed he has forgotten it, or confessed it to another, or has some great cause for keeping it secret, or that the informers were deceived" (p. 65).

We have here, if possible, a worse case of disingenuous misrepresentation than those we have considered. In the first place the opening clause involves positive untruth. No such prohibition exists; the supposition that confessors are to be kept from forming as rigid a sense of duty as possible in the minds of those who seek their ministry is a gratuitous calumny. Again, we have another instance of two cases being fused together in such a way as entirely to obscure the bearing of the question, and to present the matter to the reader in the worst possible light. Then, when he says that where the confessor has a certain knowledge that a sin has been kept back or denied, the penitent is to be absolved for he must be believed, whether speaking for or against himself, the Reviewer states precisely the opposite to Gury's solution. The latter says, if the confessor is quite certain that the sin was committed by the penitent he cannot absolve him while he denies it, that is, if he is also certain that the man has not forgotten it, or has no just ground for withholding it. The rule, "The penitent is to be believed for as well as against himself," holds indeed where certainty is wanting, not where it is present.

The other case is to this effect—If the confessor knows that the sin has been committed from information received out of confession from a third party, the penitent has as much right to be believed as the other, and therefore absolution may not be withheld. But this is

merely a question of probable evidence, not of certainty, and the penitent having a strict right to absolution on the supposition of his sincerity, the doubt that may exist in the confessor's mind, after having taken all means to arrive at a right decision, is not a sufficient ground for withholding the enjoyment of his rights from the penitent. The questioning in a roundabout manner by the confessor to which the Reviewer refers, is connected with an entirely different case; that in which the confessor has obtained the knowledge of some sin of one penitent's through the confession of another, perhaps an accomplice; and such knowledge cannot be used in any way that might betray the source of his information, for that would involve a breach of the seal of confession. In such a case therefore he can only proceed with the greatest possible caution in his endeavours to help the penitent to realize his state before God. In short, the whole question is an evidence of the care with which the Church proceeds, and is bound to proceed, in a matter of such delicacy as that of voluntary confession, where the penitent is at once accuser and accused; and it shows moreover the groundlessness of the charge of tyrannizing over consciences in the tribunal of penance by the ministers of the Church. Every precaution is taken to give perfection to a voluntary act of humiliation, and to secure to the penitent his just freedom in the discharge of a solemn duty which concerns himself alone.<sup>19</sup>

The Reviewer then tacks on to what has been said above a case which has no possible connection with it.

What room for equivocation is afforded by this ruling, the following exemplification will show. "Anna having been guilty of adultery, and being interrogated by her husband, who has formed a suspicion, answers the first time, that she has not violated wedlock; the second time, having in the interval obtained absolution, she replies, I am *guiltless of such crime*. The third time she absolutely denies the adultery, and says, *I have not committed it*, meaning within herself such particular adultery as I am bound to reveal, or, I have not committed an act of adultery that has to be revealed to you. Is Anna to be blamed?" Gury's reply, too long to be given here, justifies each answer of the adulterous woman, supporting his ruling by a grave array of Jesuit authorities, amongst which figure Suarez and St. Liguori—

St. Liguori not being a Jesuit all the same.

We repeat here that the two cases are quite distinct. In the former there was question of a priest in the tribunal of penance who had a right to interrogate so far as was necessary to the discharge of his office; in the latter case the interrogator had no such right.

Then, the Reviewer keeps back the truth, that none of Anna's equivocations would have been lawful if her husband had possessed the right to question her, she was not therefore bound to answer him, and was free to protect herself as she could. To help her to do that, those who hold that the law of truth can never be suspended, would permit her to have recourse to equivocation and mental restriction. On the other hand, those who take the opposite view, would say with Paley, that "where the person you speak to has no right to know the

<sup>19</sup> Gury, t. ii. p. 516.

truth," a falsehood ceases to be a lie ; or, that in this case the principle of English law applies, that no one is bound to speak the truth, "when a full discovery of the truth tends to accuse the witness himself of some legal crime." In other words, no one is bound to criminate himself, unless a grave public danger requires it. Now this was Anna's case. Had she acknowledged her crime, she would have been liable to legal penalties ; therefore the law of truth was suspended in her case ; her husband was seeking to know what he had no right to ask ; she could then reply by flat and absolute denial. For ourselves we can only say that the latter solution commends itself to us as most in keeping with straightforwardness and common sense. The matter may perhaps be made a little clearer by reversing the case. Suppose that it had been Anna who was questioning her husband William about his violations of wedlock, would William have felt himself bound to give categorical answers to Anna's interrogations? Most probably the answer would have been, You have no right to ask me such questions ; mind your own business. But if the urgency of suspicion was not thus easily to be put aside, would William in the long run have hesitated to use Anna's equivocations, or to answer, No? Our space compels us to pause here for the present, but we have by no means yet done with the Quarterly Reviewer.

## Catholic Review.

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### I.—REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost.* By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London: 1875.

THIS work is, as its author expressly states, another of the same series, of which the *Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost* was the first. His eminence in these pages modestly claims nothing more than to trace "at least the outlines of the same subject." But while the first treated of the action of the Third Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity on and in the Church at large, his action not only on each individual member of that Church, but on every soul that has come into the world, forms the subject of the new volume. It is a subject which all who know the writings or have heard the words of the Cardinal will recognize as one of his favourite topics, or rather as the object of his special attraction and devotion.

The plan of the work, which is clear and exhaustive explains the action supernatural and all-pervading of the Holy Spirit by grace, and the end of such action, our salvation, which as it is exerted in behalf of rational and free agents, necessarily depends upon their cooperation. This leads to the three supernatural virtues and an explanation of them, showing how the one growing out of the other rises to perfection, which is charity, and lifts us up to the fullness of the sonship into which grace has introduced us. Then follows a beautiful exposition of the nature and offices of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, showing how they perfect either our intellect or our will, and find their perfection and their harvest in the twelve fruits, "the ripe and full product of the vine, of the three great virtues, and the gifts exercised together, producing certain actions in the spiritual life."<sup>1</sup> And as in our Divine Model His perfection consisted not merely in what He did, but in what He bore and suffered for us, so besides the fruits of the sevenfold gifts, there is the still higher and more heroic perfection, the endurance and sacrifice which the Sermon on the Mount has declared to be blessed. This blessedness is owing to the near resemblance of our Divine Lord to which those arrive, who merit these praises, a beatitude the very foretaste of eternal blessedness.

<sup>1</sup> P. 413.

The whole book is strictly and carefully theological. Its constant references to St. Dionysius the Carthusian show that it is a reflex of the thoughts of that great soul. But with all this, there is nothing technical or difficult in its statements, and it is made specially valuable by the practical applications which terminate each chapter. These applications so thoroughly brought home to the peculiar dangers and difficulties of our own times, following with all the severity of a logical conclusion from the truths on which they repose, touching, too, on such important subjects, will be to many the great attraction of the work. The character of our great Archbishop is unconsciously and unintentionally traced; he draws his own picture as he represents to us the force of faith, the rigour of will, the unyielding, uncompromising consistency which should be the type of a Catholic in days of worldliness, seduction, and persecution such as ours. The number of questions of the day, and secondary though most interesting topics treated incidentally in this volume add greatly to its value. Here, for example, is the Cardinal's view about Galileo.

When theology comes in contact, and it may be in conflict, with the sciences of the world, it is the office of the Church to harmonise the science of revealed truth with the sciences of the human intellect. We are told that it cannot be harmonised with physical sciences, and the stock example which is always given us is this: that Galileo was condemned for teaching the motion of the earth. It is true, indeed, that a book of Galileo was examined at a time when the whole world believed in the motion of the sun, and when the motion of the earth was not as yet a scientific truth. It had not been yet established by science; nor was it scientifically proved for one hundred years afterwards. For a century after Galileo some of the highest intellects still believed in the motion of the sun. Many in this country lived and died disbelieving in the hypothesis of Galileo, and, believing it to be contrary to Scripture. Therefore the Church, at a time when the doctrine was but a hypothesis and a conjecture, apparently running counter to the belief of mankind, and to what seemed to be the words of Scripture, discountenanced a book which tended to unsettle the belief of men both in natural and supernatural truth. The Church defined nothing, and uttered no doctrine. It made a disciplinary prohibition to protect men from the disturbing effect of an unproved hypothesis. And what has been the course of the Church since then? From the moment that the motion of the earth was established as a scientific truth the Church has accepted it; and why? Because the Church has no revelation of physical science. Holy Scripture is not a book of cosmical science. No revelation whatever is made of astronomy. The Book of Joshua uses the language of sense, and not the language of science, in saying that the sun stood still. Therefore faith and theology are in no way implicated, and in no way in conflict. They who accuse the Church betray only the animus to throw stones which fall on their own heads (pp. 369, 370).

Indeed the whole chapter on "The gift of understanding" is an admirable exposition of the relation of the gift of the Faith to the human intellect, a subject treated more particularly in the seventh chapter, where the seven gifts are shown to be the complements, or means of perfection, of the human reason, heart, and will. We cannot resist a citation from this chapter. The author is speaking of the inherent possibility of sanctity, the power to become saints given to us all in Baptism. Speaking of the canonized saints, he says—

For they were once in the warfare and imperfections of this world just as you are now; they were as commonplace; they were as homely in their look and bearing; they were as weak; they were as sorely tempted; they were buffeted; they sinned; they fell; they were stained by their falls; they rose again; they were penitent; they persevered unto the end. The saints now before the throne in the kingdom of glory are only the ripe and perfect fruit which has been gathered from the mystical vine; and we are the unripe and imperfect fruit hanging in their stead. You are all bound to be saints. The little children among us are the most like saints on earth; for they are the freshest from the waters of regeneration, and as yet the world has not stained them, and their own will has not departed from God. They are in their baptismal innocence. And our Divine Saviour took a little child and set him in the midst even of Apostles, and said, "Unless you become as one of these, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." We are, then, surrounded by saints. We think that saints are like the great mountains, or like the cedars of Lebanon, in the kingdom of God—seldom to be seen and afar off. There are saints standing amongst us, and we know them not. They do not know it themselves; for sanctity sees only its own imperfections. And you were once like the saints; you were once children fresh in the innocence of grace; for you were then humble, and unstained, and docile, and obedient. And there are other saints to be found on earth. In the multitude of the poor there are to be found the friends of Jesus and the followers of His poverty, and they are saints. "Blessed are the poor in spirit."<sup>2</sup> The state of poverty is a discipline of mortification and self-denial, of humility and submission. It generates the spirit of poverty, which is true perfection. "Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith?" (pp. 184—186).<sup>3</sup>

In the same chapter there is a noble passage on the theological teaching of the Church.

Faith is like the sun, and theology is like the rays which flow from it. This great radiance of the faith is partly what the world storms at as dogma, or dogmatic theology; partly it is what the world cannot understand, that is, mystical theology; partly what the world hates, ascetic theology; and partly that which the world is always violating, I mean moral theology. And these four great provinces of divine truth are cultivated in the Church by men whom the Holy Ghost illuminates and sanctifies for that work. St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, St. Leo, our great St. Anselm of Canterbury, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, St. Bernard, St. Bernardine of Sienna, St. Alphonsus, and a multitude who have not been canonized on earth, though they are saints in heaven, have been illuminated by the Holy Ghost, by the four gifts which perfect the intellect, for the illumination of the Church. They have each, according as the gifts of science or counsel, intellect or wisdom, prevailed in them, elaborated and taught the science of dogmatic, or mystical, or ascetic, or moral truth. To these may be added the Pontiffs who have legislated for the Church. The sacred canon law against which the rebellious wills and shallow intellects of men have ever clamoured is the noblest, highest, purest legislation that mankind has ever known. The jurisprudence of the Church is the perfection of wisdom and justice. And here the difference between the Church and the world comes out into light. The doctors and legislators of the world may be unsanctified men. The doctors and lawgivers of the Church are created by the Holy Ghost. Of the men of science who are the doctors of the world at this day, many openly deny the existence of God (pp. 190, 191).

<sup>2</sup> St. Matt. v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> St. James ii. 5.



2. *The Formation of Christendom.* Part the Third. By T. W. Allies, M.A.  
Longman and Co.

The present volume of Mr. Allies' *Formation of Christendom* consists of a very interesting and complete account of the final death-struggle of heathen philosophy with the religion of Christ. The subject is one of special importance at the present day, when the pagan and sceptical philosophies which were extinguished and crushed out by Christianity are once more venturing into the light of day, coming out of their graves to show their hideous forms under new disguises. Thus Mr. Allies does good service in bringing out the distinctive doctrines of the various schools and in pointing out the particular points in which they came into collision with the teaching of the Catholic Church. For the modern pantheism of Spinoza is identical in its logical results with the pantheism of the Neoplatonists; the "gospel of human reason" is the same as that which was taught by the cultured heathenism of Apollonius of Tyana and the Neopythagoreans, while the Stoics, excellent and virtuous as was their teaching in almost every respect, yet founded their theory of Universal Equality and Fraternity on the same dangerous basis of mere natural kinship, which is the first principle of modern Freemasonry. But apart from this analogy, the history of philosophy at Rome is, from an historical point of view, well deserving of careful study. How was it that ancient philosophy proved a failure? How was it that the master intellect of Aristotle, with all its practical power, its comprehensive range, its well-balanced judgment and acuteness of observation failed to set on foot a system proof against the eclectics and sceptics who followed him, until Christianity came to his aid and incorporated the results of his labours into her own divine teaching? How was it that the godlike Plato failed to secure the adherence of mankind, except so far as his theories were adopted by the Fathers of the Church and stamped with their sanction? The reason was this: No heathen philosophy had any power of social construction. With the one exception of Pythagoreanism, they were all intellectual and moral systems, and ignored some of the essential laws which regulate human nature in its aggregate capacity. Their founders founded schools, not societies. It is true that Pythagoras was an exception to this rule, and anticipated (as Mr. Allies points out) much that is essentially Christian in his Crotoniate brotherhood; "simplicity of food, daily self-examination and purity of morals were required of his disciples." But his attempt was premature, and though it succeeded for a time, the persecution of the jealous democracies around soon crushed it out. But Christianity was essentially a society founded on the necessities of human nature, suited to the needs of the age, in harmony with the laws of Sociology, able to satisfy all the legitimate cravings of man, and to furnish a remedy to all his miseries. This was what no system

of heathen ethics could accomplish, and therefore it was that they all submitted one by one to their divine assailant.

If we look a little deeper into the cause of this, we shall see that no philosophy can ever hold society together unless it is based on the supernatural order. We will not attempt to go into this very interesting question, but would rather refer our readers to the last chapter of Mr. Allies' volume, in which he puts before us a very able and instinctive picture of the Church's work in re-establishing on a supernatural basis all that previous philosophers had vainly attempted to establish on one purely natural. This fact is well worth noticing, because every modern system outside the Catholic Church is practically based on the natural and not on the supernatural, and therefore must, necessarily and infallibly, ere long destroy the very existence of society by its disintegrating power. The French Communists were merely anticipating what must in course of time be the fate of every country where Liberalism and the International Society are doing their deadly work, even though the process is a slow one. Thus in the end the triumph of the Church is secured by the mere course of events, without any supernatural intervention, unless indeed human society is to collapse altogether.

But we are quitting the immediate subject of Mr. Allies' book. We will only add that his work when finished will form a standard authority on one of the most interesting of all subjects. His style is clear and classical, his matter well chosen, and the arrangement of it excellent. Every scholar will be grateful to him for a book so full of research, while the general reader will find his pages full of information on questions which concern most closely all who hold dear the teaching of the Christian Church.

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3. *Peace through the Truth.* Second Series. By the Rev. T. Harper, S.J.  
London : Burns and Oates, 1874.

This goodly volume, which we have before very briefly noticed, owes its existence to a difficulty started by Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon* against Papal Infallibility. He professes to exhibit Pope Gregory the First and Alexander the Sixth in diametrical opposition to one another on a fundamental point. But we will let Father Harper state the difficulty in his own words. "St. Gregory the Great declares that marriage with a sister-in-law is forbidden; that marriages are prohibited within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity; and he bases his judgment on the authority of the Levitical law. Innocent the Third declares that in marriages prohibited by the Divine law he evidently means the Levitical law. So, then, two Popes at two different epochs of the Church's history give it as their formal judgment that marriage within the degrees specified in the Levitical law is prohibited by Divine authority, and that consequently no Pope can

dispense in such cases. One of them distinctly and by name prohibits marriage with a sister-in-law; and this prohibition is confirmed by Eugenius the Fourth. On the other hand, Alexander the Sixth gives a dispensation for the marriage now of one king with his sister-in-law, now of another king with his aunt. We are thus confronted with a manifest contradiction in the formal teaching of Papal authority, which it is impossible to reconcile."

Father Harper's reply to this in the first instance amply settles the difficulty. If there be contradiction as regards infallibility, then there must be shown to exist contradiction between two *ex cathedra* Papal utterances. But there is no question of such in the case of Alexander the Sixth. He makes no statement, issues no doctrinal Bull, publishes no Encyclical. He simply performs *an act*. He may have been wrong in such act; may have sinned in giving the dispensations in question; but this does not touch the matter of infallibility; for infallibility is not supposed to preserve the Pope from the possibility of sin, or of practical error and imprudence.

But Father Harper is not satisfied with this reply—though ample in itself for all controversial purposes—but enters upon the discussion of Dr. Pusey's principle that a dispensation cannot be given in degrees prohibited "by Divine law." The consideration of this principle, which according to Dr. Pusey's view is tantamount to saying that a dispensation cannot be given in degrees prohibited by the "Levitical law," leads Father Harper into an investigation of the first principles of all law, to which it is impossible to do justice in a short notice like the present. Divine law is either *natural* or *positive*. Natural law objectively considered is none other than the eternal law resident in God, of which the efficacy does not depend upon the free will of God, but is immutably founded on those necessary principles of right and wrong essentially belonging to the Divine nature and regarded by God as the direction and rule of the moral action of the creature. Subjectively considered, that is as it is consciously present in the mind of man this divine eternal law is called *natural* law. Thus, according to St. Thomas, natural law is "a knowledge naturally belonging to man, by which he is guided to act aright in what he does. . . . All that renders action unsuited to that end which nature intends as result of any operation, is said to be against the natural law." The *natural* law, in other words, is the *eternal* law impressed upon the human creature.

That this law reveals itself to the intellect of man, is too evident to require proof. The universal consciousness of a certain order to be observed in the actions of life—of a definite end attainable by due selection of means—of certain first principles of right and wrong, beyond the reach of popular will and popular opinion—of accountability to an authority which claims supremacy over man and over all human institutions—this is a primitive fact too general to be ignored, too patent to our individual introspection, to be gainsayed. The perverse will of some would-be philosopher may from time to time venture against its reality with an all-embracing doubt; but the voice of mankind, and the invincible testimony of conscience, are ever ready to confront him.

Positive law differs from natural law in this, that it is not implanted in the constitution of our nature, nor flows necessarily from natural law, but is a simple addition made to this latter by duly constituted authority from without. Natural law pre-supposes right and wrong; positive law constitutes right and wrong in the object of legislation, which is not in itself right or wrong; and right or wrong, moreover, only for so long as the law is in force.

The Sinaitic code, as far as it was positive, obliged only the Jewish people to whom it was given. But He Who had promulgated it could also abrogate it, for the notion of possible abrogation enters into the very essence of positive law. The Mosaic law comprises three classes of precepts: (1) The Moral; (2) the Ceremonial; (3) the Judicial. The first class constitutes the repetition of the natural law, which is the chief matter of the two tables. The second treated of things sacred, of sacrifices, of sacraments, or of special observances, such as distinctions of meats, and the like. The third agrees with the first in so far as it deals with matters of conduct, and with the second inasmuch as it is simply positive. Moreover the Mosaic law was not intended to be final; and in fact its moral principles received a new promulgation in the Christian law.

The question here arises whether the Mosaic law was in any way abrogated by the Christian dispensation? and if so, was the abrogation total or in part only? Father Harper replies, entirely as regards the ceremonial precepts; and also as regards the moral precepts; not of course that the moral law itself could be abrogated, for it is of eternal obligation; but abrogated it was so far as the special Sinaitic sanction is concerned. Father Harper thus states the relative position of the Mosaic and Christian law on this matter—

The inquiry which we have just instituted, touching the constituents of the Mosaic law, must have excited in the minds of the reader a conviction that the Divine legislation, proclaimed from Mount Sinai, was not intended to be final. And that conviction is strengthened by a closer examination. For the enactments of the Pentateuch—numerous and complicated as they are—bear on their front the mark or note of something provisional. They are, first of all, merely local, confined to one people, when they are not a simple repetition of the universal natural law; yet God is the Father and Supreme King of all the earth. Then again, those of them which are ceremonial abound in what is merely typical; while the judicial precepts are adapted to circumstances of time and place, to national character, and to a particular form of theocratic government; all of which are transitory in their nature. It does not, therefore, surprise us to find that another and final law was given by divine revelation in the new dispensation of grace; and, as was fitting, its mode of promulgation was so much the more glorious, by how much it exceeded the old law in dignity of nature and completeness of development.

Father Harper then proceeds to consider how far the Mosaic law was abrogated in order to give place to the Christian law; and thus sums up the results of his argument.

At length we have concluded our work of demolition, and if the doctrine of Suarez be true, not a fragment of the old Mosaic legislation remains, save

in the pages of history. It was a miracle of the divine wisdom and omnipotence—ushered into the world by miracles—preserved alive by a succession of miracles, among a stubborn and wayward people, in whose natural character the will predominated over the intellect; defended from foreign invasion and domestic treason by further miracles; by a miracle ended, as by a miracle it began. It was verily and indeed a divine idea, but in the fulness of God's wisdom it was only a provisional part of one mighty whole. It was, so to speak, another St. John the Baptist, a forerunner of the Christ; and when He came its office was at an end. The strength of the Cross rent its veil of separation asunder from top to bottom, and admitted the Gentiles into its Holy of Holies. Its symbolic temple, with her pinnacles and porches once glistening like God's bride, come down from heaven, in the brightness of an all but meridian sun, is now a thing of the past, and in vain does the impious industry of man essay to rear it once more on the well-nigh deserted hill of Sion. The smoke of early sacrifice no more shall rise from its many altars, now of long time levelled with the ground. Its priesthood has perished from off the face of the earth. . . . Neither has it fared better with the whole of that complicated code of moral, judicial, and ceremonial precepts, exuberant in its fulness but fearfully rigid in its discipline and punishments, which the Divine goodness had prepared for his people of election. Shadows have made way for the substance; types have been supplanted by their antitypes. Circumcision is no longer a divine command, Sabbath observations have become a pernicious superstition, sacrifices of oxen, rams, and goats have receded before the one *Sacrifice and clean Oblation*, foretold by Malachias the prophet, which is now daily offered in every place on the altars of the Catholic Church. The ceremonial law is fulfilled, and ends with its own fulfilment. The judicial precepts too have vanished with the Divinely-instituted polity of which they were the guard and nurse. Last of all the moral precepts have vanished likewise, in their character of positive law written on stone for a gainsaying people. They are no longer set in the terrors of Mount Sinai, as jewels in the sacerdotal breast-plate; though they still find their primeval sanction, under God, in the mind of man, and awake to a new life under that higher sanction, echoed from the Mountain of Beatitudes along all the ages of the new dispensation. The tables of the old law have been for ever lost. Yet as there existed in the great Theophany in the wilderness, even from the cradle of history and the first fountains of intellectual life, so now, and thence onward, to the end of all things, though the seven-branched candlestick has been extinguished in the sanctuary of Zion, there is a lamp perpetually burning before the Invisible in the imperishable temple of the human conscience.

In other words, the Mosaic law has been succeeded by the Evangelical law, which is a law of internal life rather than of external precept; "a law of faith and a law of grace," because it is occupied with the great articles of the Creed and with the institution of the Sacraments of grace, leaving the determination of ceremonial and judicial precepts to those prelates whom the Divine Legislator had appointed partly for this purpose. "For what regards the natural law, the legislation of Christ developed it in two ways. He extended its obligation by bringing it especially to bear on the inner thoughts and motions of the heart; and He so elevated it into a supernatural order as partially to change the rank and multiply the number of its virtues, while He added that new order of heroic virtues which is embodied in the Evangelical counsels."

In accordance with these principles, Father Harper decides, after a long and searching discussion, that none of the prohibited degrees of the Levitical law fall within the natural law, which of course admits

of neither abrogation nor dispensation, except those in the direct line of ascent or descent; in the sense that natural law annuls marriage only in the first degree of consanguinity in the straight line, *i.e.* between parents and children. In other cases of consanguinity and affinity in the collateral line, and of affinity in the straight line it is more probable that the natural law does not annul marriage; that is, when marriage has been once contracted. But on the other hand, many marriages are *prohibited* by the natural law, that is, they cannot be lawfully contracted, though if contracted would not be annulled. Circumstances then, may arise in which it may be desirable to permit such marriages in very special cases; and for such cases the dispensing power has been given to the Church. The Pope therefore can validly dispense in such cases, *i.e.* in those cases which do not involve any fundamental prohibition of the natural law. But the marriage of a brother with a deceased wife's sister does not lie under any such prohibition, therefore the Pope can dispense in such a case; and hence it happens that Dr. Pusey's objection comes to grief on the ground of *principle* alone.

We cannot do more than commend this valuable work to our readers as a treasure of information and luminous exposition of the matters of which it treats. We may add that the copious and admirable table of contents enhances the value of the book in no small degree.

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4. *Social Pressure.* By the Author of *Friends in Council*. London: Daldy and Isbister, 1875.

In noticing the latest publication of Sir Arthur Helps the melancholy duty devolves upon us of paying tribute to his memory. He has passed away prematurely before, in the usual course of things, his eye ought to have been dimmed or his natural force abated, to the sorrow of the perhaps somewhat limited circle of readers who could appreciate the outpourings of his wise and gentle spirit. A void will be created for such which can hardly be supplied, and that the more because it was a many-toned voice that has thus been silenced. With him depart the careful thought of Milverton for the social sores that he touched with a true and tender hand; the causticity of Sir John Ellesmere; the cynicism of Mauleverer, and the red-tapery of Cranmer; for the wise talk and lively parleys of the *Friends in Council* will be heard no more. Peace to his ashes: we could better have spared many a more high-sounding and pretentious name. And we will add that from us as Catholics more especially is some expression of grateful feeling due; for though not of us, yet when speaking of Catholic matters he never forgot the gentleman and the scholar. He might differ from us, as in some things, we will hope not many, he doubtless did; but he never inflicted wounds in proclaiming such difference; thus furnishing an example that might well be followed by more conspicuous men.



The present work consists, after Sir Arthur's usual fashion, of a number of short essays, of which the prevailing character of the subjects is sufficiently indicated by the title; a title that, as Sir John Ellesmere says, "is vague, sounds important, does not tell too much, and, at any rate, it keeps clear of politics." In Sir Arthur Helps' hands it certainly covers an immense deal of ground, as may be gathered from the subjects of some of the essays and conversations; such as, Large Towns, Local Government, Choice of Men for Offices, Colonial Government, Strikes, Cooperation, Intrusiveness, Publicity, Looking Back on Life, in the treatment of which little digressions are made into such subjects as dress, balls, and dinner parties, and the not unusual outcome of those combinations of human individualities, that peculiar manipulation of our neighbour's character which is styled denigration. The handling of each of these matters brings out a host of unpleasant truths and thoughtful suggestions. The bigness of towns, and especially of London, is dwelt upon in a way somewhat to shake British pride in the vast metropolis, in relation to the immense loss caused by it—"loss of health, of time, of comfort, of material resources of every kind." Loss of animal power, for four or five hundred horses are knocked up and sent to the knacker's yard every week, in consequence of the miles of paved roadways. Loss of work, which the vast distances render more difficult; loss of play, for who can hope to breathe a little country air when his day's work is done, when he has ten miles of streets between him and the green fields. Loss of social pleasure, where assemblies become promiscuous crowds. Loss of health, for mere stint of fresh air, so that on Dr. Arnold's testimony, "Nobody except butchers' boys enjoy perfect health—the full state of health that they are capable of enjoying." Count Rumford used to count the number of millions of chaldrons of coals which were suspended in the atmosphere of London, and to dwell upon the mischief which was caused to furniture by this pall of smoke when it descended. As an illustration of this we are told of two bricks brought from the great wall of China by Sir Rutherford Alcock, which had withstood atmospheric influences for centuries without symptom of decay. Two years' exposure to the corrosive air of London was enough to reduce them to fragments. Now these facts suggest no doubt some startling reflections as to whether any remedies can be employed in mitigation at least of such disagreeableness.

Mr. Mauleverer is great in this volume on the folly of man, and indulges in the following gloomy picture of the race in general—"Contemptible in his appetites, grovelling in his pursuits, absurd in his pleasures, most comical when meaning to be most serious; imitative as an ape, shameless as a dog, and as fond of following a crowd as the silliest sheep; the serf of success, the slave of fashion; a creature who trades upon the few epidemic ideas of his age, which he in his conceit supposes to be his own." His fixed principle is that the folly of mankind is a constant quantity; never varying from age

to age. He even makes a formal attempt to prove his thesis in a supposed letter to an American citizen; and one great proof of the folly of the present times is, that "we still think that the best mode of settling any doubtful question which may arise between two sets of human beings, having different modes of speech, is to ascertain which should be able to kill the greatest number of the other side." This conviction does not seem in danger of losing its hold, for in former ages, three or four hundred thousand fighting men contrived to do the fighting business of Europe; whereas now five or six millions are considered to be necessary to this entirely Christian occupation." This is rather a gloomy view of actual modern human nature; we are quite entitled therefore to any comfort of a counter-balancing kind that we can extract from the testimony of a Prime Minister of this country, who, on being asked by his successor in office what his experience of mankind had led him to conclude about them, replied, "Oh! they are capital fellows—much better fellows than you would imagine; but deuced vain, you know, deuced vain!"

In the remaining topics the hurry and pressure of modern life are brought out with their evil consequences branching out in so many directions, and portending difficulty, if not disaster, in so many of the relations of social and political life. The concentration of wealth on the one hand, and the rising intelligence and ever-increasing cumulative power of the working classes are dwelt upon as menacing the disappearance of the middle class of England, and the consequent division of the nation into two hostile camps. How far this may be true, and if true, how far and in what manner such a calamity may be obviated, are questions surely well worth the attention of all true men. We conclude this brief notice with an extract bearing upon the above subject, and we quote the passage with more pleasure, as it is a reflex of the large and kindly heart that has unhappily ceased to beat. Speaking of that "Numerous class of hard-working people who carry on the main part of the business transacted in that large place over there to the north-east," Sir Arthur makes Milverton say, "I have often thought what a peculiar melancholy is to be read in their faces as you pass them in the street. It is not a dictate or a fantastic melancholy. It is the melancholy that belongs to an ardent and eager form of civilization; and which in these modern times, is the prevailing melancholy of the world. It is not the scholar's melancholy, nor the courtier's, nor the soldier's, nor the lawyer's, nor the lover's, each of which is so well described by Jaques; neither is it his own—a melancholy compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects; but it partakes more of the dreary, down-hearted, care-oppressed lassitude of the man of business. It is especially for the sake of such men that I would brighten up society and also make it more easy for them to partake." Yes! but after all is it not the old story, *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas?*

5. *Notice sur le serviteur de Dieu le R. Père Claude de la Colombière de la Compagnie de Jesus, etc.* Par le Père Pierre Xav. Pouplard de la même Compagnie. Lyon, 1875.

It can hardly be a matter of surprise to any one who has read in the Life of Blessed Margaret Mary of the high esteem in which she held Père de la Colombière, that steps should be taken for his beatification. Père Pouplard, S.J., had already published this Life in an abridged form; he now brings it out enlarged with the valuable addition of thirty-three of the Father's letters. Just so much is known of him as to excite a great wish that further research may lead to more complete details of his short but full life. His *Retreat*, already translated into English, is quite enough to show the heights of sanctity to which this privileged soul had ascended.

Father Claude was of a holy family, his eldest brother, *Maitre des Comptes*, head revenue officer, of Grenoble, led in the world the life of a religious, two others were secular priests, one of whom devoted himself to the missions of Canada, while his only sister entered the Order of the Visitation. A violent repulsion of nature against the religious state was conquered by fidelity to vocation, and he entered the Society in 1659, when eighteen years old. He was hardly ordained before his rare aptitude for preaching made his superiors dedicate him to that work. Prepared by his month's retreat, by the extraordinary vow which was its result—a vow to keep all the rules and constitutions of his order without exception—he was fitted, in 1674, to take the solemn trust of director to a saint. For in that year, as God had promised to Blessed Margaret Mary, he was appointed Superior to the Residence at Paray-le-Monial, and she became his penitent. In the great revelation our Blessed Lord deigned to order her to charge the humble Father with the duty of “doing his best to establish this Devotion.” In the October of 1676, he exchanged the quiet town and simple residence of Paray for the bustle and grandeur of a London palace. The old red-brick building of St. James, now solitary, unless on the days of a drawing-room, was then the residence of James, Duke of York, and his Italian wife, Maria Beatrice d'Este. The chapel rang to Claude's powerful sermons, which have been published; and within those walls he led a life as modest and as regulated as if he had been in a Noviceship. In a letter to his eldest brother he speaks touchingly of his numerous occupations, of the great holiness he meets with in the midst of an heretical city, and the plenteous and rich harvest that was only waiting the sickle of the labourer to gather in. “My humble respects to Madame de la Colombière,” he writes. “My God, what saintly women I know here! Were I to tell you the way they live, you would be amazed at it. Perhaps,” he adds, with a delicate compliment, “I should be so too, if you told me the virtues of my sister-in-law.” He feared, he states in a letter to the curé of Paray, no dangers but those of his soul; but these, he says, were

many and great. The conduct of James no doubt must have been a serious trial to the director of his ill-used wife, and where vice found its greatest patron on the throne, it must have been unblushing throughout the land.

The days of Titus Oates were coming on. A sham convert, a Frenchman, who had been living on the Father's charity, when the alms ceased, denounced him to the authorities for receiving him and others into the Church, and accused him of speaking against the King and Parliament. Dragged to prison, examined by Parliamentary Commissioners, he was for three weeks in confinement, and was only released to be banished the realm.

It is to be feared that no further documents exist in our Records which throw further light upon the sojourn of Father de la Colombière amongst us. We find him in France on the 16th of January, 1679, waiting further orders on his return. His health had suffered severely, and the rigours of prison had aggravated the disease of his lungs which was so soon to carry him off. He was sent to Lyons, and on his way stayed a few days at Paray. His new duties were those of spiritual director or father to the young religious in the College of Lyons, and one of these was Père Gallifet, who became the learned champion of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart. But the terrible malady that was upon him made such rapid progress that he was ordered for rest and change of air to Paray. In six months he was given up by the doctors, and though ready to obey their slightest order, God spared him the pain of being separated from his religious brethren, by being sent as they had wished to his native place in Dauphiny. After long and terrible sufferings, he died a most saintly death on February 15th, 1682, being only forty-four years old.

His body, which had lain in the church of the Society, was confided by the last superior at the suppression to the nuns of the Visitation, and it still reposes in their midst, for they guarded it jealously through the long night of the French Revolution.

The account of the veneration towards Father de la Colombière on the part of Margaret Mary after his death, and of miracles declared to have been wrought by his intercession, occupy a large place in the volume. England owes a special debt of reverence to that saintly man who in our old historic palace was the first in our land to venerate the Sacred Heart of our Divine Lord, and whose name is written among our confessors for the faith.

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6. *Alfgar the Dane: or, Second Chronicle of Æscendune. A Tale of the days of Edmund Ironsides.* By the Rev. A. D. Crane, B.A. Rivingtons, London, Oxford and Cambridge, 1875.

This new historical tale of Mr. Crane's deserves still higher commendation than the First Chronicle, which was but lately noticed in these pages. It is a book that Catholic schoolboys and grown-up

people may read with profit; and we are sure they would read it with pleasure. Like his former work, it is founded on fact, and follows most closely the latest and best sources of Saxon history. The scenery and country is admirably described, and the now "deserted village" of Dorchester, and many other places round about Oxford, are put before us as they were nine hundred years ago. Several portions of the book are supposed to be in the words of a Benedictine chronicler, whose diary forms the framework of the story. It is difficult no doubt to imitate the simple naiveté of such writings; and these portions are just those where the author is generally the least interesting. The Father Cuthbert is by no means dead to the comforts of this world, or to the tender ties of home and family.

"And truly my lines have fallen in pleasant places. . . . Above us rises a noble hill, crowned with the oak and the beech, beneath whose shade many a deer and boar repose, and their flesh, when brought thither to gladden our festivals, is indeed toothsome and savoury."<sup>1</sup> "For myself, I have had many offers of promotion in the brotherhood of St. Benedict, but have refused them. I was once offered the high office of abbot in one of our great Benedictine houses, but I wished to be near *my own people and my father's house!*" The context of the well known text is hardly consonant with the monk's clinging to home affections. They no doubt are natural and right in a clergyman of the Establishment, but hardly so in a fervent religious, as Cuthbert is described to have been.

In the painful scene of the death of Ethelred the Unready, the Bishop of London enters the room "bearing the viaticum, as the last communion of the sick was *then* called." Surely it is *still* so called by the whole Latin Church, just as it was in days long before Ethelred by Venerable Bede. How strangely the isolation of the would-be Catholics of the Establishment comes out, even in their best and most honest endeavours to keep up the delusion of their being a living branch of God's Church. Mr. Crake would have better used throughout his pleasing work the common Saxon word "housel" instead of sacrament. Of which Lingard remarks: "Since the Reformation, the word 'sacrament' has generally been substituted for it; but 'sacrament' does not adequately supply its place. Sacrament denotes a sacred sign; but housel implies a victim of sacrifice."<sup>2</sup>

In the note upon the Ordeal,<sup>3</sup> the author says, "Although never formally recognized by the Church of Rome, it was administered in England under the direction of the clergy." Lingard says distinctly,<sup>4</sup> that "it was condemned as superstitious by Pope Stephen the Fifth (816—824), and later by his successors, Alexander the Second, Celestine the Third, Innocent the Third, and Honorius the Third." The custom came down from Pagan days, and, after conversion to the faith, the people and their rulers did not doubt that the true God

<sup>1</sup> P. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i. p. 325. Edit. 1845.

<sup>3</sup> P. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 138.

would aid them in the decision of difficult cases, while the very fact of the test being religious necessarily placed the whole arrangement under the clergy. But they appear to have merely carried out, not ecclesiastical, but civil laws. The particular form of ordeal described in the story seems to stand and fall with the truth of the ordeal of Emma, which Lingard considers to deserve but little credit.<sup>5</sup>

The silence which is studiously observed by modern High Churchmen about the Holy See, in Saxon days, as now, the object of the love and veneration of all Christian people, who recognized in the Pope the Vicar of Christ, necessarily changes the real character of the faith and the times they attempt to describe. Yet with that exception—and most important indeed it is—one cannot help feeling grateful for the reverence and affection with which Mr. Crake approaches the history of those days. We look forward with pleasure to his third story, which he promises us, and we feel sure that he will treat the blessed memory of St. Edward with far more respect than that holy saint received from the learned and honest historian Mr. Freeman.

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7. *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*. Del Commendatore Giov. Batt. De Rossi. Serie 2, anno v.

Signor Rossi is able to announce in this number a discovery which adds greatly to the interest of the basilica of St. Petronilla. Attracted by a passage behind the apse which showed signs of having been often trodden by the feet of passers-by, he pursued his excavations till he came to a *cubiculum*, containing an *arcosolium* at one end. Over this was painted the painting of a woman in the attitude of prayer, with one hand stretched out toward the figure of a maiden, at whose feet are the familiar symbol of the sacred Gospels; and the inscriptions tells us that *Veneranda* is reverencing

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NEL LA  
MART.

The title of martyr, which contradicts the teaching of tradition and of the martyrologies, given in this, a work of about the fourth or fifth century, opens a question of great interest. Here, however, was the place where the body of the saint used to repose until solemnly translated in 755 to its present resting-place in St. Peter's. Signor Rossi promises to discuss the question, and to give an account of the translation is his next number. The basilica is not to be restored, but the columns are to be placed on their bases, and the whole covered with a roof which will protect the venerable ruin from the weather.

The canons regular of St. Agnes without the walls are busy with excavations in the catacombs beneath their church. The inscriptions discovered throw considerable light on the use of the *signum Christi* in

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. p. 136. n. 2.



its various shapes during the first four or five centuries. The gigantic ruins of the *Bajana rega*, the Imperial Brighton, furnish forth a curious Christian lamp. The villas seem to have fallen to the Crown, and to have been occupied by procurators in the name of the Government. When the emperors became Christian and went to Constantinople, the buildings were still inhabited, and many of them were made over to religious bodies.

A curious account is given of an old Christian graveyard at Porto Gruaro, near Venice. The tombs are stone coffins covered with massive lids. Their inscriptions menace with fine the disturbers of the remains of those buried within. In the interesting dissertation on the basilica of St. Peter at Aliscamps near Arles, the favourite burial place of the Christians of Gaul, a tombstone is shown to point to the early honour paid to the Chains of St. Peter, whose feast seems to have been kept at Arles as far back as 530.

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8. *The Life of St. John of God, Founder of the Order of Hospitallers.* The Saints and Servants of God. Second Series.

The *Bene-fate-fratelli*, or the Hospitallers, are among the many glories of the Church in modern times. The life of their founder is now, thanks to the editors of this valuable series, made known to English readers. Juan Cuidad, the son of poor Portuguese parents, whom he left, when quite a child, to spend his youth as a farm servant at Oropesa in Spain, is a remarkable instance of the strong power of God's love in following up His all-wise purposes in spite of the waywardness and unwiseness of the soul whom He destined to be a saint and a means of sanctification to others. Twice did Juan enlist as a soldier, although in the first campaign he had so bitterly to regret the fall into which the licence of his companions seems to have led him. Then he went to seek martyrdom like St. Francis in Africa, for God's grace was beginning to make itself felt, though as yet he knew not clearly whither his Lord would lead him. At last the Voice told him, "John of God, Grenada shall be thy cross." But many were to be the crosses, many the trials before he could obey this command. At last he came under the direction of the venerable John of Avila, who saw into the treasure of virtue which was concealed under the madness which the holy man had feigned in order to gain the humiliations of his crucified Lord.

In God's good time the itinerant seller of pious books, the soldier, the farm labourer, began the work to which he had been called, a work the need of which he had so bitterly felt in the mad-house of Grenada. The hospital, like all great undertakings, arose from narrowness and poverty, and Juan Cuidad became, without hardly knowing it, the founder of a numerous and self-sacrificing order. St. John of God was one of that group of saints who rejoiced the Church in the

hour of her secret trials and reverses, and repaired by their holiness the losses she sustained by the apostasy of England and the countries of the North. His life, very simply and beautifully told and well translated, will be a source of much spiritual good in days of self-indulgence and worldliness like ours.

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9. *Novena of Meditations in honour of St. Joseph*, according to the method of St. Ignatius, preceded by a new Exercise for hearing Mass according to the intentions of the souls in Purgatory. A. M. D. G. Translated from the French.
10. *Devotions for Public and Private Use at the Way of the Cross*. By Sister M. F. Clare. London: Washbourne, 1875.

These two little books add to the stock, now by no means a small one, of devotions for this time of the Christian year. That upon St. Joseph seems to be very serviceable as an aid to teach us more and more to imitate the great patriarch. We must confess to a dread of new versions of devotions for public use when those commonly adopted have become familiar to our congregations, and are readily followed from the ordinary prayer-books. The new stations, however, appear chiefly to be intended for private devotion.

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11. *Mary, Star of the Sea*; or, a Garland of living Flowers culled from the Divine Scriptures, and woven to the honour of the holy Mother of God. A story of Catholic devotion. London: Burns and Oates, 1875.

We gladly welcome this reprint of an old friend, one, as the Preface tells us, of Mr. Burns' first publications after his conversion, nearly thirty years ago. It is a pleasing and instructive story, leading the reader along through a very good exposition of Scriptural evidences to Mary's dignity and privileges.

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12. *Stories of Saints for Children*. Second Series. London: Washbourne, 1875.

This new series is, if anything, even more pleasantly written than its predecessor. And, if we except the want of any very evident order, which the writer seems to think of no importance "for children," the selection is excellent. The grouping together of the various classes of the saints is however, we still think, a mistake; it gives an apparent method, but really sacrifices both historical sequence and, we venture to say, that interest which variety would produce. But after all this is but a minor matter, where the whole is so good, and so well adapted to those for whom it is addressed. The life of St. Zita makes us regret that her example is not brought more forward in days when servants want some heroic example to protect them from the love of liberty and dress which is so prevalent.





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